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ABSTRACT

Written to celebrate a century of childhood and to mark the centennial year of the Association for Childhood Education International (ACEI), this book describes childhood and childhood education during the past century in the context of the conditions during different periods. The book contains the following chapters: (1) "The American Experience in Childhood and Childhood Education through the Nineteenth Century"; (2) "Expansion and Change in Childhood and Childhood Education: 1890-1920"; (3) "A World in Depression and War: 1930-1950"; (4) "A Golden Age of Childhood: 1950-1975"; and (5) "A Changing World: Childhood and Education Reconsidered: 1975-1992." Each chapter contains a brief review of major historical events and trends, followed by the conditions and lifestyles experienced by diverse populations of children during the period discussed. The descriptions of several time periods conclude with a brief history of ACEI within the context of the time period discussed. (Contains 172 references.) (LPP)

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CHILDHOOD 1892 1992

Sue C. Wortham

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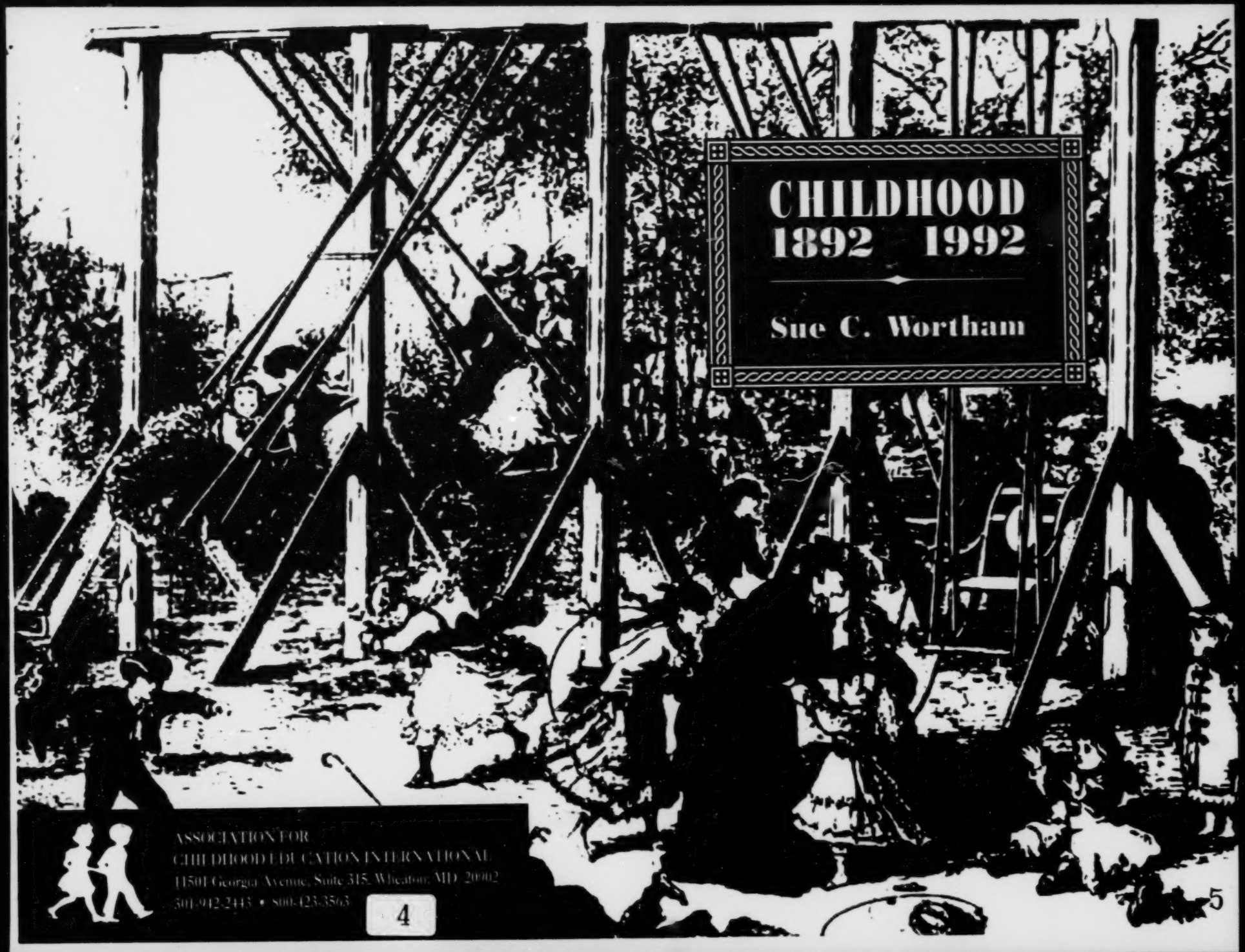
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INTRODUCTION

This publication was written as a celebration: first it celebrates a century of childhood and second, it celebrates the centennial year of the Association for Childhood Education International. Because ACEI has as its major purpose to serve children, it seemed appropriate for this centennial publication to describe childhood and childhood education during the last century–from the last decade of the 19th century to the final decade of the 20th century.

In *A Century of Childhood Education 1892-1992*, the past hundred years have been described in the context of the times and conditions during different periods: prior to 1890, 1890 to 1930, 1930 to 1950, 1950 to 1975 and 1975 to the present. Each period begins with a brief review of major historical events and trends, followed by the types of conditions and lifestyles experienced by diverse populations of children during that segment of history. The history of childhood education for each period includes all levels of education, from the university level to care and learning of very young children. The description of each time period is concluded with a brief history of ACEI as the organization worked within the context of the issues, opportunities and problems of the time.

While this centennial publication focuses on children, a companion centennial publication, *Profiles in Childhood Education 1931-1960*, celebrates the lives and contributions of ACEI leaders. *Profiles* is a sequel to *Dauntless Women in Childhood Education* published in 1972. Through these and other ACEI publications, a comprehensive picture can be drawn of the individual and collective contributions made to children and their education by ACEI through its branches and membership.

I feel most fortunate to have been given the opportunity to develop this special publication. I thank the Executive Board for entrusting the project to me. I also want to acknowledge Stevie Hoffman for her patience and help in making extensive improvements to the original manuscript. Most of all, I need to acknowledge Lucy Prete Martin, not only for the support and encouragement she extended in the conceptualization and development of this project, but for her total commitment to all ACEI publications.

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CHAPTER I
THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE IN CHILDHOOD AND CHILDHOOD EDUCATION THROUGH THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The understanding that childhood is a separate period of life is a phenomenon that emerged in the 17th century at the end of the Middle Ages. The American experience of childhood was partially an extension of European influence. American childhood in the 18th and 19th centuries, however, was more than the British and European influence described in so many histories of the country's colonization. Not only were immigrants from other parts of the world involved in the settlement of the colonies and United States, but also natives, both Indian and Hispanic, who had occupied the land for many centuries. Black children born to slaves who were forcibly brought here to help establish the farming industry had a unique type of childhood that was contingent upon the condition of slavery, as well as life as freed people after the Civil War. The history of childhood is their history as well.

In the Middle Ages, individuals were generally ignored until they were no longer children. Babies were separated from their parents and sent out to wet nurses. At the age of 8 or 9, poor children went out into the streets to find work and lodging. Middle-class children also left home for vocational apprenticeship or service. Young children were treated as if they were expendable, partially due to the incredible rate of infant and child mortality. Because of infant and child deaths, parents were hesitant to establish an attachment.

The 17th century saw the evolution of a pattern for the modern family. As lords of manorial communities began divesting large tracts of land, smaller communities began to form. Communal living within the manor was no longer the norm. Families established themselves in their own homes; and as the independence of yeomen and merchants developed, conjugal family life and domestic activities centered around the home. The father assumed responsibilities formerly held by the lord of the manor and the priest. New spiritual reforms encouraged people to learn to read, and privacy and individual freedom led to a new value for individuals and a corresponding interest in childhood (Schorsch, 1979). In the new society of the 17th century, there was an awareness of the particular nature of childhood. Children were given a special costume to separate them from adults. Writers of the period saw children as fragile creatures of God who needed to be safeguarded and reformed (Aries, 1962; Weber, 1984). The 17th century was marked by a new care and concern for childhood that followed immigrants to the new world.

During the Renaissance, several leaders of the time contributed to the understanding of childhood and how children should be reared and educated. The impact of their influence laid the groundwork for efforts on children's behalf that were taken in the 18th and 19th centuries and continue today.

The Renaissance revived an interest in classical learning and religious reformation. Johann Amos Comenius, a Moravian bishop, was a leader in the expansion of educational opportunities through universal education, including children. In *School of Infancy*, Comenius wrote on the training of children under 6 years of age. He outlined a program for young children through play, games, rhymes, fairy tales and manual activity. He expected children to go to school at the age of 6 to receive instruction in the three R's, as well as religion, morals and the mechanical arts.

In France, Jean Jacques Rousseau was more influential than perhaps any other writer of the 18th century. He advocated naturalism and transformed education, particularly for young children, with his view that human nature is essentially good and education must allow that goodness to unfold. In his book *Emile* (1911), Rousseau described what he believed to be the natural characteristics of children at different age levels and outlined the type of education appropriate at each level. For example, he suggested that young children should be free of swaddling and adult clothing and should be allowed to eat, run and play as much as they wanted. He also admonished mothers to trust the child's spontaneous impulses.

Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi translated Rousseau's ideas on education into practice, devoting his life to education of the poor. In schools he developed toward the end of the 18th century, Pestalozzi relied on children's natural instincts to motivate them to learn, using methods that allowed him to adapt instruction to the individual child. He advocated the use of natural objects and self-discovery to teach children through a series of "object lessons" (Weber, 1984).

These three pioneers in the study of childhood, the nature of children and how young children learn not only influenced efforts to improve conditions for children but also influenced childhood education in America. Their ideas were taken by colonists and immigrants to the new world to form the conditions of childhood and education in the 18th and 19th centuries in the United States. As in Europe and other continents, however, the conditions of childhood varied, depending on the education, wealth and opportunities available to the family of the child.

CHILDHOOD IN THE UNITED STATES PRIOR TO 1890

The first immigrants to the continent came from Asia thousands of years ago. They occupied North and South America and were the antecedents of Native American and Hispanic populations living on the continent when settlers began to arrive from Europe. The United States was settled by waves of immigrants from different parts of the world, representing different ethnic groups and cultures, with varied economic, religious and social lifestyles.

Colonization of the east coast began in the 1600s. Many emigrated because of political, religious and economic disruptions in Europe and England. In the early 1600s, 80 percent of the colonial population was English; in the late 1600s and 1700s, immigrants came from northern and western Europe. The Scotch-Irish formed the largest groups, with Germans as the second largest group in the 1700s. Smaller groups of French Huguenots, Welsh, Jews, Swiss and Highland Scots also came during the 1700s (Snapper, 1976).

Black immigrants came as early as the 1600s. The first Black immigrants had legal status. Although both Blacks and Whites owned servants in the early years, Blacks were vulnerable to slavery as the need for labor expanded.

The influx of immigrants between 1850 and 1920 included large numbers of southern and eastern Europeans who suffered from economic and language barriers. These illiterate, semi- and unskilled workers formed an inexpensive labor pool and tended to live in urban slum areas. These laborers were exploited, as were the Black slaves who were freed from slavery at the end of the Civil War.

The abolition of slavery, with a new demand for inexpensive labor, led to an influx of Asian and southern European immigrants. Between the 1850s and 1880s, Chinese immigrants, mostly young males who were characterized as young, thrifty and industrious, settled in western locations of the United States. Japanese also entered the country as family units until the Exclusion Act of 1924 curtailed Asian immigration (Snapper, 1976).

Types of Family Lifestyles

Because the groups that populated the continent were so diverse, there was no common family lifestyle. There were some characteristics of living in America, however, that families had in common. From the beginning, all groups were confronted with constant change and challenge. Mobility was a phenomenon of living in America that all early colonists and settlers experienced. This was especially evident during the 1800s when westward expansion, combined with the change from a rural, agrarian society to an urban, industrialized society, had an impact on all populations.

For the most part, family lifestyle was determined by level of education, wealth and status of the family, whether they lived in an urban or rural area and whether they lived in the Northeast, South or western frontier of the continent. Families represented many religions, spoke many different languages and observed a variety of cultural customs. As English gradually became the dominant language, it also became a unifying element in the American experience.

By 1800, eastern urban areas had a three-class society. Wealthy merchant families expanded their business through employment of members of the extended family. Artisans practiced skilled trades and trained apprentices or journeymen to carry on the trade. Laborers, the lowest group, had unstable family and working conditions. The adults died young, their children had little opportunity for training or education and continual poverty was the result (Sudia, 1976).

THE MODERN CITY

Hanging on the skirts, very literally of indecision, a small boy wearily trailed his aunt through the splendor of the "ladies' great shop" in New York City in the 1850s. Five stories high, A. T. Stewart's magnificent Marble Palace "bravely waylaid custom" on the Chambers Street corner of Broadway. It regularly interrupted aunt and nephew on their way from a dentist's office on Wall Street, confronting them with displays.

The modern city, providing the economic incentive and the physical setting for new enterprise, produced the department store. The city stimulated the expansion of the retail market, improved communications systems, and generated a new building technology. Swept along by a tide of progress, residents steadily expanded the range of their consumption beyond food and material for clothing; the ambience of the large city encouraged many people of modest affluence to aspire to an air of solid comfort, if not luxury. – Gunther Barth (1988) The department store. In Timothy J. Crimmins & Neil Larry Shumsky, *American life, American people, Vol II* p 108. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

At the time of the Revolution, families had been in America for 170 years. There were about 3 million people including English, Scots, Irish, Jews, Germans, French, Dutch, Swedes, Africans and Native Americans. Family life and childrearing practices varied widely among social classes and religious groups. Childhood for the child of the wealthy genteel family in the East was different from that of a child in a frontier farm family. Likewise, childhood was different for the child of the southern plantation owner when compared to the Black slave child. Life for a Native American child subjected to wars and frequent relocation contrasted with that of a first generation Italian child living in a tenement in an eastern city.

Religious Beliefs and Childrearing Practices

Family lifestyles and childrearing practices were related to religious beliefs and practices of Protestant Americans in the 17th and 18th centuries. Greven (1977) described these patterns of childrearing in *The Protestant*

Temperament where he discussed three types of family groups: the genteel, the moderate and the evangelical.

The genteel class had fine clothing, libraries, elaborate toys and well-furnished houses. Its members showed concern for the latest fashions and the maintenance of good health. Parenthood was a loving but distant relationship with the children. Children were part of a cohesive and affectionate family, and were indulged by parents, nurses and servants who provided surrogate care.

Moderate families were described as self-controlled and authoritative. Parents set limits and boundaries for their children, and they sought voluntary and affectionate obedience from their children. Children lived with extended families of several generations, with grandparents also exercising authority over the children. The responsibility of the family was to nurture virtue and industry in the children at an early age.

Evangelical parents believed that children were to love and fear both their parents and their God. Evangelical families generally consisted of the immediate family unit, rather than an extended family relationship. The authority of the parents was absolute, while obedience and submission were the only acceptable responses for children. Parents imposed their will upon their infants and small children, which left the children without any rights for their own desires, needs or wishes. Parents believed that their responsibility was to control and break the emerging will of their children during the first years of life.

> Evangelical parents were engaged in war with their children, a war which could end only with total victory by the parents and unconditional surrender by the child. The imagery of their warfare is the language of power unchecked and of resistance quelled. Might and right—the prerogatives of parenthood—faced defiance and rebellious willfulness—the characteristics of the unbroken child. Generation after generation of evangelical parents wrote about their battles with pride and contentment that sprang from success. Their children, conquered, submitted and forgot their own early efforts at independence and selfhood (Greven, 1977, p. 37)

Children of the Poor

Children in the three types of families described by Greven also varied in their wealth and social standing; nevertheless, any suffering they experienced was due to religious factors and preferred styles of living. Children of the poor, in contrast, suffered from the effects of living in poverty.

Poor children might be orphaned, sold by their parents or live in a family unable to support itself. These children—and sometimes entire families—frequently found themselves in almshouses or workhouses as indentured servants, serving an apprenticeship or laboring in a mill or factory.

The early colonists of the 1600s perceived the labor of children as laudable; it prevented them from growing up in idleness. Children were often sent to the colonies in bondage as servants or as apprentices to relieve European and English society from having to support them if they were orphaned or illegitimate.

Colonists also brought the European and English practice of establishing houses of refuge for the handicapped, the insane, the feeble-minded, aged and poor families. In exchange for the opportunity to live in a workhouse or almshouse, the residents repaid their living expenses through labor. This included children, as well as adults. Between 1850 and 1857, reports described miserable conditions in these living quarters. During the following decade and after the end of the Civil War, the number of children in almshouses in New York City increased 300 percent. Abuses in the system, however, turned public opinion against them; and because they were also too costly to operate, they began to be closed in the latter decades of the 19th century (Datta, 1976).

The use of children as servants or apprentices solved community needs for a labor force. For almost 300 years, parents sold their children, or children were taken from families and placed as servants or apprentices or placed in a home to learn a craft or trade. Toward the end of the 18th century, when craft industries began to expand into shops, households included children, servants and apprentices. When further expansion resulted in the establishment of factories, especially textile factories, child labor continued. Between 1790 and 1810, the factory system had spread throughout New England. Although children and women provided 90 percent of the workforce for these factories, entire families often worked in factories and were encouraged to invite their relatives to join them at their place of employment.

> During the following century, children of immigrant families poured into the United States. Into the glass factories and mills of the North they went, as children of freed slaves entered the work force of the South. In the coal fields of the Appalachians, children went down into the pits. They rose before dawn, returning after 12 hours of hard, dangerous labor, girls as well as boys. In the factories of the Mid-west the children, their mothers and their fathers rose at 4:30 to the shrilling of the factory whistle and worked, day in and day out, for their mostly short lives. The industrial wealth of the United States was built, according to the records of the 1800s, on the slavery of Blacks and children. (Datta, 1976, p. 267)

The closing of almshouses and workhouses led to the establishment of orphanages in the 19th century. Religious and philanthropic groups started orphanages, soon to be followed by municipal and state orphanages. The quality of care and possible abuse of children became a concern. The move to place children in homes, and the practice of placing children for adoption finally, led to the decline of orphanages.

The large numbers of children of destitute immigrant families living in East Coast cities caused additional problems for these urban areas. Poor children roamed the streets. New York City had about 10,000 vagrant children by 1850, some of whom turned to prostitution and crime to sustain themselves. Many of the children were sent West and South to foster homes. Between 1849 and 1929, the New York Children's Aid Society placed about 100,000 children in foster homes in the South and West. A citizens' committee would arrange for placement of the children with families in their community. Families were not paid to care for the child, but they were able to use the children for farm labor (Datta, 1976).

Toward the end of the 1800s, various types of reforms affecting poor children were making advances. Bondage and apprenticeships had faded away. While child labor was still practiced, children under 16 were protected from its excesses after 1900. The establishment of free public schools resulted in educational opportunities for children working in factories. Child labor laws regulating how many hours children worked plus laws requiring attendance in school gradually contributed to improvements for poor children. The practice of placing poor and orphaned children in the West and South also declined. It was not until well into the 20th century, however, that child labor was eliminated.

Black Children and Native American Children

Black children lived a life of deprivation and cruelty under slavery. Slaves were kidnapped and brought to this continent, usually as individuals. Families established on plantations were frequently torn apart through sales. Parents were separated from one another or their children; siblings were also separated. Children were sent to the fields as young as age 6. They were poorly housed and clothed, and undernourished. As slaves, they had no rights and no education. After slaves were freed, conditions improved only slightly for Black children. Their parents often worked as sharecroppers or tenant farmers for very low wages, and opportunities for education were few for many years. Children were used for child labor in southern industries. It was not until the present century that substantial efforts were made on behalf of Black children and their families.

Life was also extremely difficult for Native American children. The settlement of the East Coast caused Native Americans to be moved west of the Mississippi in the 1830s. Treaties made with Native Americans were violated repeatedly, and their rights were frequently ignored. There were battles and skirmishes between Native Americans and settlers from the first years of colonization until the destruction of Custer's regiment in 1876. In addition, Native Americans were susceptible to European diseases. The death rate from these illnesses was extraordinarily high, coming from epidemics starting in the 1600s and lasting through the 19th century (Snapper, 1976).

Relocation of Native American tribes was frequent. Finally, they were moved to reservations where they were governed and controlled by a paternalistic United States government. The education provided Native American children during the years of colonization and westward expansion came from the tribe. Children were taught the practices, rituals and history of their culture by tribal elders. Literacy as understood by the national American culture became available later when schools were established on reservations and nearby communities.

"Their dear mother was not there"

Health Conditions

Although life experiences for different groups of children varied, one condition was shared by all: the high infant mortality rate. It was not until the last half of the 19th century that people became concerned about the high numbers of deaths in infancy and childhood.

Awareness of the need to know what was causing the deaths and the need for parents to know how to protect the health of their children led to the establishment of organizations concerned with child health. After the Civil War, the city of New York created a Metropolitan Sanitary District and Board of Health. Massachusetts became the first state to have a permanent Board of Health and Vital Statistics. By 1877, 14 states had established state health departments. Foundations and organizations, such as the Russell Sage Foundation, the Commonwealth Fund, the American Medical Association, the American Academy of Pediatrics and the General Federation of Women's Clubs, joined city and state health departments in studying why so many children were dying.

The primary cause of infant deaths was found to be the lack of cleanliness in dairies. A pamphlet published in Rochester, New York, advised mothers to breast feed their babies or give them water during the summer months. Milk stations were established where mothers could obtain clean milk and have their babies weighed. A nurse was available to tell the mother how to provide for her child's health needs (Public Health Service, 1976). Another reason for the high death rate of children was the ignorance of doctors. Dr. Abraham Jacobi, founder of American pediatrics, made the medical profession aware that children were different from adults with different health needs. Dr. Thomas M. Rotch, who first held the chair of pediatrics at Harvard Medical School in 1888, called for a study of the various stages of child development to understand anatomy, physiology and child diseases. The training of doctors, nurses and midwives was expanded to provide better obstetrical care for mothers and newborn babies. As a result of a report on the state of training in the nation's medical schools, many institutions were closed. Others modernized medical education to increase the quality of preparation for doctors, nurses and midwives providing obstetrical and pediatric care.

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CHILDHOOD EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES PRIOR TO 1890

Education in the colonies and early days of the Republic was patterned on the Old World, just as other values and lifestyles were. Schools had as their purpose educating young people with the knowledge received from England and Europe. With the advent of the American Revolution, these ties were broken and the American form of education gradually emerged.

> Above all, the great spur to learning was the American dream itself. The driving idea was that in this new world a man could fulfill his highest potentialities, become all that he was capable of being. In practice, to be sure, that noble ideal has not been uniformly applied. Throughout our history, considerably less than unlimited individual opportunity has been afforded to various minorities, and perhaps most pervasively to black Americans. The ideal nevertheless persists. (Gross & Gross, 1976, p. 179)

THE AMERICAN SUNDAY SCHOOL UNION
The American Sunday School Union was one of the philanthropic organizations that conducted schools for children of the poor, particularly children who labored in mills and factories. As the frontier moved West, Sunday Schools were frequently the first school to be established in a community before the community itself could provide for schooling. Although the schooling materials had as their purpose to teach basic literacy, they frequently included moral and religious topics. Lynn, R. W., & Wright, E. (1971) *The big little school.* New York: Harper & Row

Evolution of Schooling in the New World

In the earliest years of colonization, education was informal and based in the family and community. Children and youth were taught individually in the home through apprenticeships, instruction by parents and community members. Schooling was an integral part of life, although formal education was not the major focus for much of the population (Gross & Gross, 1976).

From the beginning, there was a desire to provide for the education of the elite to lead the masses. The first priority for education in the New World was for higher education. Harvard University was established in 1636, soon followed by William and Mary, Princeton, Pennsylvania, Rutgers, Dartmouth and King's College which later became Columbia University (Snyder, 1972). These early institutions, and the 264 others that were established by 1856 in the continental United States, followed a classical curriculum dominated by Latin and Greek. The need to prepare students for college admission led to the establishment of Latin Grammar Schools at the secondary level. All of these institutions enrolled only White men.

Before and after the Revolutionary War, with westward expansion and the industrial revolution, it became apparent that secondary education programs beyond Latin Grammar Schools were needed to provide education and training in mathematics, surveying, bookkeeping and navigation. Benjamin Franklin founded the Franklin Academy in 1751 to meet this need. Many other vocational training academies soon followed. They gradually included some of the classic curriculum along with vocational training.

Schooling for Younger Children

Although the government of Massachusetts Bay enacted the first statute to establish a system of schools in 1647, the law was poorly enforced (Snyder, 1972). Nevertheless, the statute set an example for a system of schooling that later led to the establishment of free public education (Gulliford, 1984).

The 1647 law specified that petty schools be established so that children and apprentices could learn to read and write. Selectmen in townships were to provide for the schools, while parents in the district were to construct the school buildings. Where the schools were actually constructed, school was only held for a few months a year when children could be released from the demands of the farm (Snyder, 1972).

As the population increased in the colonies, more well-to-do parents utilized another type of education, subscription schools, to educate their children. Schools were financed by subscriptions, tuition, land rental fees and taxes. White middle-class and upper-class children stayed in school longer and learned business and academic skills (Gulliford, 1984).

Less affluent families collectively employed a mother, widow or unmarried female to teach a group of children in home settings called Dame Schools. Children were taught to read, write and recite scriptures from the Bible. Girls also learned household skills, while boys learned to help around the farm to prepare them for later apprenticeships. The primary curriculum in all colonial schools was scripture, biblical teachings and in some, Latin. Reading, writing and arithmetic were of secondary importance.

Schooling After the American Revolution

Up until the Revolution, schooling for young and older students followed that of England and Europe. Parents wanted their children to retain the religious and secular culture brought across the Atlantic. They feared that future generations would lose their religious values and grow up in ignorance (Handlin, 1976). With the advent of hostilities leading to the Revolutionary War, books and curriculum materials from England were no longer available and were considered unsuitable. American leaders, caught up in the new nationalism, began massive efforts to produce American publications. While Noah Webster compiled spellers and dictionaries to reflect American English, English textbooks were revised, including the *New England Primer* (Bonn, 1976; Handlin, 1976).

The establishment of the new republic and the expansion of the country across the continent, combined with the change from an agrarian economy to an industrial nation, were reflected in expansion and changes in education. The Civil War and its aftermath added the difficulties of a divided nation to the growth process of the educational system. The war was devastating to the people and the

economy; however, the continuing development of the nation resulted in new opportunities and complexities for children's education after 1850.

Efforts to Establish Public Schools

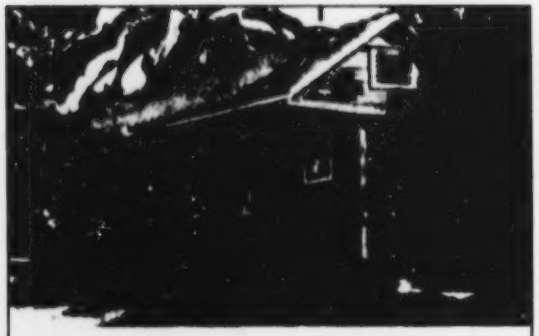
The American ideal of providing a free public education for all of its citizens was difficult to achieve. Only through publicly funded education could all children have an opportunity for literacy. Such efforts began in the Midwest, but with higher education. In 1830, Oberlin College was founded, the first institution to admit women and Blacks. In the 1850s, Antioch College and state universities in Utah, Michigan, Ohio and Wisconsin became coeducational.

The process of providing equal educational opportunities at the secondary and elementary levels moved much more slowly. The industrial revolution brought large numbers of immigrants from abroad and found American families migrating to urban areas in search of employment. The result was crowded living conditions in the cities. Living circumstances in the tenements aroused public awareness to the plight of children and their need for an education; nevertheless, and at first, it was left to philanthropic resources such as The Society for the Education of the Male Poor and The Society for the Education of the Female Poor to finance schools for poor children (Snyder, 1972).

Frontier and Rural Schools

As the migration of families moved West and South, seeking to escape urban crowding and find new economic opportunities, frontier schools became necessary for the children. While the Northwest Ordinances of 1784, 1785 and 1787 allowed public lands to be leased to benefit public schools, the abundance of free land precluded that method of funding schools. The only reliable source for funding frontier and rural schools was the parents. One-room schools began to dot the frontier as families in a community constructed a building and hired a teacher to instruct their children. School terms and teachers' salaries varied according to the wealth and stability of the families supporting each school (Gulliford, 1984). The schools were frequently overcrowded, and teaching materials meager.

The struggle for publicly funded education gathered strength after the Civil War. Important educators such as Horace Mann, Samuel Lewis and Henry Barnard came to view education as a public responsibility. At the same time, Emma Willard, Catherine Beecher and Mary Lyon tried to convince women that they should become teachers. The concept of a free public education was established by 1860, but full implementation in practice took many years to accomplish.



MASON STREET SCHOOL

The Mason Street school was the first schoolhouse built in San Diego, California in 1865. The first teacher of the school was Mary Chase Walker from Massachusetts. She described her arrival in San Diego and her early experiences at the school:

I arrived in the bay of San Diego on the morning of July 5, 1865. It was a most desolate looking landscape. The hills were brown and barren; not a tree or green thing was to be seen. Of all the dilapidated, miserable looking places I had ever seen this was the worst. The buildings were nearly all of adobe, one story in height, with no chimneys. Some of the roofs were covered with tile and some with earth. The first night of my stay at the hotel a donkey came under my window and saluted me with an unearthly bray. The fleas were plentiful and hungry. Mosquitoes were also in attendance. An Indian man did the cooking and an Irish boy waited on me at the table, and also gave me the news of the town. The landlord told me I could go into the kitchen and cook whatever I wanted if I didn't like the Indian's style and I availed myself of this privilege. I rented two rooms in the Robinson house for $2 a month. My school was composed mostly of Spanish and half-breed children, with a few English and several Americans. I aimed to teach what would be most meaningful to them, namely, reading, spelling, arithmetic, and how to write letters. At recess the Spanish girls smoked cigaritas and the boys amused themselves by lassoing pigs, hens, etc. The Spanish children were very irregular in their attendance at school on account of so many fiestas and amusements of various kinds. For a week before a bull-fight the boys were more or less absent, watching preparations, such as fencing up the streets leading to the plaza. – From leaflet, Mason St. School, San Diego County Historical Days Association.

Children of all ages attended school together in rural one-room schoolhouses. They frequently entered school as young as 3 or 4 to be watched over by their older brothers and sisters. Boys of 17 and 18 attended during the winter months when the weather prohibited farm work. Farmhands and adult immigrants might also attend during the cold weather (Gulliford, 1984).

Students in these one-room schools were not organized by age or grade, but by ability. Although teachers prepared lessons to match the progress and ability of individual children, many assignments were similar for a group of students. Younger students heard lessons over and over as different groups read or recited for the teacher. Older students not only helped younger children with their lessons, but assisted with classroom duties such as feeding wood to the heating stove, bringing in water and warming lunches. Discipline was very strict and teachers demanded obedience from the children.

> Classroom conditions, too, were a factor in the education process. Teachers and students were forced to endure cramped classrooms and overcrowding. In winter there were additional hardships. The smells of wet wool clothes and bags of asafetida, an offensive-smelling resinous material hung around children's necks as health amulets, drove many teachers to open the windows, only to be met with a blast of icy wind. As soon as the window was closed, the air again became stuffy. Students alternately froze and roasted, depending on their proximity to the potbellied stove. The corners of the room could be almost as cold as the out-of-doors. The constant freezing and thawing of the children's feet often gave them chilblains, which made their feet itch intensely as they warmed up, so that throughout the day the room resounded with the constant noise of boots shuffling under desks. (Gulliford, 1984, p. 48)

The important curriculum components were reading, grammar and spelling.

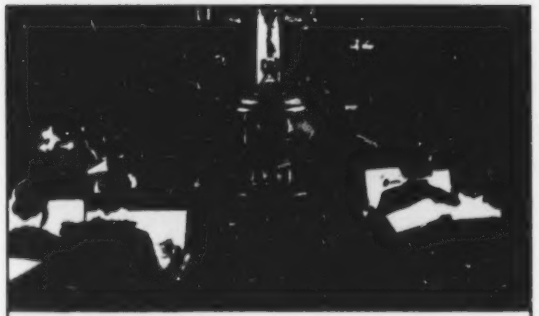
The primer had all three components combined in one textbook. Children were expected to master reading to *McGuffey's Third Eclectic Reader*. After the 1870s, a system of eight grade levels was instituted as education standards were raised. Grammar was taught through exercises in diagramming or parsing, while spelling included recitations and monthly spelldowns with rival districts (Gulliford, 1984). Only cursive writing was taught in the early years. Teachers were required to drill the students in writing skills until their penmanship became neat and legible.

Schooling for Black Children

Contrary to common understanding, education was available for some Blacks in New England colonies early in the nation's history. Slaves were taught so that they could read the Bible and lead useful lives. The schools were funded through philanthropic efforts and contributions made by free Blacks, Black churches and fraternal societies. Although inferior to those in the North, there were also schools in the South for Black children prior to the Revolutionary War (Farmer, 1976). After the war, however, the teaching of Blacks was forbidden by law with harsh penalties resulting for disregarding that law. Schools were disbanded, but hidden efforts for education continued until the end of the Civil War.

After the Civil War, one reconstruction effort was to establish schools for Blacks. Northern teachers, Black churches and fraternal organizations worked with local Black citizens to educate Black people. The Freedman's Bureau under the War Department developed a partnership with the other organizations and aid societies to build over 4,000 schools. Howard University in Washington, D.C., along with other institutions for higher education such as Atlanta University, Fisk, Talladega, Tougaloo and Hampton, were established with assistance from the Freedman's Bureau. Despite these efforts, education for Blacks was inferior or lower in quality than schools for Whites.

The Freedman's Bureau was dismantled in 1875 after only five years of work. Blacks were then forced to form schools as best they could with few resources. Rural schools for Blacks were crude, often abandoned structures that had been used for livestock. Northern philanthropists assisted in improving these schools with funds for both building schoolhouses and purchasing books.



THE OLD COUNTRY SCHOOL

When the county superintendents began their work in the Civil War period, no Midwestern country school was graded. The teachers, still teaching as they had been taught, organized their schools around a series of readers, usually McGuffey's or copies of McGuffey's. Usually there were six readers in the series, each corresponding very loosely to a grade, so that a student in the first reader might be thought to be in the first grade.

From the first reader the teacher taught her students how to read. From those following, particularly the fourth, fifth, and sixth, she taught history from historical accounts and speeches of great men, and elocution and literature from the very best in the English language. Besides the readers, the teacher taught arithmetic, usually from Ray's *New Arithmetic* series and geography from James Monteith's *National Geographical* series.

In the nineteenth century no one really dignified this system by naming it, but modern educators might have called it "self-paced." Students read through the readers at their own pace, and along the way picked up as much arithmetic, geography, and grammar as the teacher could find time to give them. When they had read through the sixth reader they had gone as far as they could go, at least in reading. Many students never made it that far, and years later they would tell their children or grandchildren that they had gone through the third or fourth reader in school, which would completely mystify a generation grown accustomed to the graded school. – Wayne E. Fuller (1982) *The old country school* (pp. 147-148). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

There was also a shortage of Black teachers in the rural South; many educated Blacks migrated to the West and to cities where there was more opportunity. The attitudes of southern Whites against the Black schools caused hardships. Northern teachers who went South to educate Blacks were frequently denied room and board. School buildings were burned, stoned and even shot at by Whites (Gulliford, 1984).

Schooling for Native American Children

Schooling for Native Americans was under the jurisdiction of the United States government. By the end of the 19th century, a system of boarding schools was established away from the reservations. Students were not permitted to wear their native clothing; boys' hair was cut short; and efforts were made to educate students away from their Indian culture, values and customs.

There were also one-room schoolhouses on the reservations established by missionaries. These became day schools that were controlled by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Thus education for Native Americans, like education for Blacks, was segregated and of a lower quality than that for Whites (Farmer, 1976).

How, then, does one characterize the system of American education prior to 1890? Patricia Graham described it as follows:

> Thus, not until the latter part of the 19th century could the United States really be said to have an "educational system" as such, because until that time education had been acquired through a variety of rather haphazard methods. Children studied at home with their parents or with a tutor, or perhaps at the home of a nearby spinster or widow in a "Dame school" with a few neighborhood children, and only rarely at a building formally designated "school" and subsidized by the local community, the church, the children's tuition, private beneficence, or some combination of these. Such formal work often was supplemented by individual study, by perusal of books and local newspapers and journals, by instructional messages embedded in sermons and Sunday School programs, and through apprenticeships both formal and informal to persons who had achieved some degree of mastery of a particular field. (Graham, 1976, p. 135)

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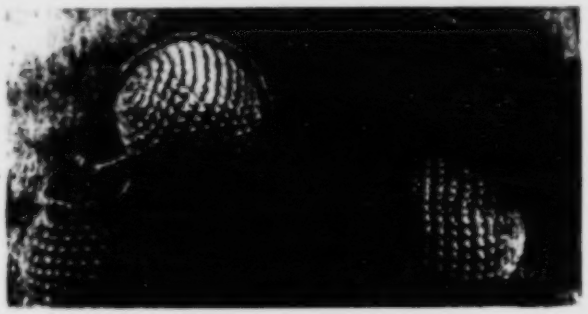
ROOTS OF EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION AND CARE PRIOR TO 1890

The years after the end of the Civil War to the turn of the century were a period of establishment and expansion of public school systems throughout the continental United States. They were also a time when attention was focused on preschool children and the need to improve conditions for children of the poor, particularly in urban ghettos and tenements. The advent of the kindergarten, imported from Germany, served as the vehicle whereby philanthropic efforts could be made to assist and educate the poor by serving the needs of young children and their families.

By 1855, the Puritan belief in original sin and children as innately depraved was giving way to ideas based on Romanticism and Rousseau's assertion of the natural goodness of man. The American democratic view also facilitated this change in attitude about the nature of children. The notion that the child is born with inherent impulses that are right and good allowed an understanding of Rousseau's advocacy of a return to nature; that education must allow the goodness in the child to unfold (Weber, 1969; Weber, 1984). The acceptance of play as a medium for educational experience fit within this new perspective of the child.



Friedrich Froebel had also developed his philosophy of the education of young children based on Rousseau's naturalism and Pestalozzi's ideas of education. He applied this philosophy in the development of the first kindergarten in Germany in 1837. Froebel embraced the active nature of learning and saw play as the educational method whereby the child's inner powers could be released. His preschool curriculum focused on the developmental needs of young children and within a framework of "gifts and occupations," songs, games and movement plays.

In 1856, one of Froebel's students, Margarethe Schurz who had been trained in his methods, opened the first American kindergarten in Watertown, Wisconsin. Although this and other early kindergartens were taught in German to serve the children of German immigrants, the concept of such a program was introduced at a time in American history when there was a need and interest in programs for children too young to attend public schools.

Between 1880 and 1900, more than 10 million immigrants arrived in the United States. These impoverished families did not assimilate quickly into American society as earlier immigrants had. They were frequently illiterate with few employment skills. They tended to stay in urban ghetto tenements. Because both parents worked long hours at poorly paid jobs, the youngest children were often unsupervised for most of the day. Middle-class women, who were members of rapidly expanding women's clubs, philanthropic societies and religious groups, discovered the kindergarten movement to be the answer to their quest for providing care and education for these urban immigrant children (Hewes, 1986).

Most of the first kindergartens were private, such as the one established by Margarethe Schurz in her home. Elizabeth Peabody and her sister, Mary Mann, along with Henry Barnard and William T. Harris, were some of the leaders in advocating for kindergartens. Various philanthropic individuals and organizations began to develop kindergartens in order to render social services that would alleviate conditions for young children living in the slums. The Women's Christian Temperance Union established kindergartens in at least 20 large cities. Mrs. Pauline Agassiz Shaw established 31 free kindergartens in the Boston area by 1883.

Training schools were established to meet the growing need for trained kindergarten teachers. John Kraus and his wife, Maria Kraus, conducted the New York Seminary for kindergarten teachers in New York City. Elizabeth Peabody spent several years training teachers, as did Susan Blow and others.

The kindergarten movement soon became part of public schools. In 1873, William T. Harris and Susan Blow incorporated the first kindergarten program into a public school system in St. Louis. Other school systems also began to support the

FIRST FREE KINDERGARTEN WEST OF THE ROCKIES

Of the forty who were accepted the first morning, thirty appeared to be either indifferent or willing victims, while ten were quite the reverse. These screamed if the maternal hand were withdrawn, bawled if their hats were taken away, and bellowed if they were asked to sit down. This rebellion led to their being removed to the hall by their mothers, who spanked them vigorously every few minutes and returned them to me each time in a more unconquered state, with their lung power quite unimpaired and views of the New Education still vague and distorted. As the mothers were uniformly ladies with ruffled hair, snapping eyes, high color and short temper, I could not understand the children's fear of me, a mild young thing . . . but they evidently preferred the ills they knew. When the last mother led in the last freshly spanked child and said as she prepared to leave: "Well I suppose they might as well get used to you one time as another, so good-day, Miss, and God help you!" I felt that my woes were greater than I could bear, for, as the door closed, several infants who had been quite calm began to howl in sympathy with their suffering brethren. – Kate Wiggin (1925) The girl and the kingdom (pp. 14-15). ACEI Archives.

THE CINCINNATI KINDERGARTEN TRAINING SCHOOL

Adeline S. Kraft was a student at Cincinnati Kindergarten Training School headed by Annie Laws. She later recalled her experiences in a letter to Mary Leeper, Executive Secretary of ACE in 1941. Annie Laws was president of the International Kindergarten Union in 1904 and 1905. Adeline Kraft described one experience as follows:

Another time, Miss Laws was late coming to breakfast–some of us knew why–others didn't. There was an old-fashioned grate in the bedroom Miss Laws occupied (We called it the "Royal Suite.") While Miss Laws was in the shower-room, we hid some of her necessary garments in the grate. It was the custom for all of us to stand behind our chairs in the dining-room, until all the guests were there–so we stood and waited, and waited, and waited. Finally, in Miss Laws came, completely dressed and at ease, her own serene self with a good morning smile for all of us. Those of us who had perpetrated the "crime" felt like crawling under the table. Again, she made no mention of her misplaced belongings, but we are still wondering how she found them, as they had been carefully wrapped in newspapers, tied with string, placed in the grate and lumps of coal put on top—to look like the paper and coal were all ready to burn when a fire was needed. – Letter from Adeline Kraft to Mary Leeper, 1941, ACEI Archives Record Group 1, Box 1.

kindergarten movement and introduced kindergartens into their elementary schools (Weber, 1969).

The growth of the kindergarten movement was rapid. Weber reported that, in 1870, there were fewer than 12 kindergartens in the United States, but by 1880 there were almost 400 kindergartens in 30 states. Many of the kindergarten programs begun as philanthropic efforts were later absorbed into public school systems. In 1872, William T. Hailmann presented Froebelian principles to a general session of the National Education Association. A Department of Kindergarten Instruction was established within NEA in 1885 to explain and promote Froebelian principles, discuss training of kindergarten teachers and advocate kindergartens for all children (Weber, 1969).

By 1898, charity kindergartens began to decline; 10 years later, they had almost disappeared. Public school kindergartens had continued to expand, but there was conflict developing over the direction of the programs in public schools. The naturalism promoted in the original Froebelian kindergarten was being transformed as kindergarten teachers were pressed to conform to the educational demands of the upper grades (Hewes, 1985). Anna E. Bryan first discussed the problems of formalizing kindergartens in a meeting of the kindergarten department of the National Education Association in 1890. Many educators were seeking new procedures for teaching, while others, such as Susan Blow, were rigidly adhering to original Froebelian methods and were unwilling to deviate from traditional procedures (Weber 1969).

When, at a meeting of the National Education Association in1892, a small group of kindergarten educators led by Sarah H. Stewart met in Saratoga Springs, New York, to organize their own advocacy group, massive changes in early childhood education had just begun. The struggles to improve kindergarten programs and the impact of the field of psychology and scientific thinking were yet to gain momentum. The young organization, to be called the International Kindergarten Union, would have a dramatic and sometimes heated role in the evolution of the educational, economic and social changes that were to affect children in the 20th century (Smith, 1942).

CHAPTER 2
EXPANSION AND CHANGE IN CHILDHOOD AND CHILDHOOD EDUCATION: 1890 – 1930

By the last decade of the 19th century, the United States was quite developed compared to its status in 1800. The population had doubled between 1860 and 1900, from 31,000,000 to 76,000,000. Thanks to the five continental railroads connecting East to West and North to South, most of the continental United States had been settled, although some western areas were sparsely populated (Snyder, 1972).

Mechanization and inventions had changed the nation into a strong agricultural and industrial economy that encouraged rural and western settlement. Inventions such as the reaper, thresher, telephone, telegraph and electricity made possible more efficient use of time and resources. Small companies and individual artisans declined as large, nationally run corporations replaced them.

Agricultural and industrial development resulted in the accumulation of vast fortunes for a few in all sections of the United States. Even more important was the rise of the increasingly powerful business class that not only controlled corporations, but also sought to assert its leadership in American politics and society (Henretta, Brownlee, Brody & Ware, 1987). The aristocracy of prosperity was not shared by all, particularly the laborers or working class. The American Federation of Labor, established and led by Samuel Gompers, advocated for the rights and needs of workers. Under the leadership of the AFL, trade unions organized collectively to protect their interests (Beard & Beard, 1944).

Industrialization also led to urbanization. Large cities, such as Cleveland, Pittsburgh and Birmingham, grew rapidly as industrial corporations expanded. Urban growth created a society divided by class, with the poor laborers concentrated in the factory districts, the rising middle class in the suburbs and the wealthy on country estates or in exclusive urban neighborhoods.

Syrian Children at Mayer Chapel Kindergarten, 1910

Immigration continued to contribute to population growth between 1890 and 1930. The largest numbers came from southern Italy, with smaller groups entering from Austria-Hungary, Poland and Russia (Snyder, 1972; Sudia, 1976). At the same time, infant mortality rates were dropping and life expectancy extended for all populations. Efforts to improve health conditions, particularly for infants and children, strongly contributed to the decline in early deaths by 1930.

THE TELEPHONE

The telephone came to America—and to the rest of the world—on March 10, 1876, on that day, as far as is known, Alexander Graham Bell became the first person to transmit speech electrically. The American response to that event included a mixture of wonder, confusion, and sheer disbelief. That spoken words could be converted into electrical waves, transmitted along wire, and then reconverted into sound at the other end of the line could not easily be comprehended even after the telephone had been widely described. Perhaps the best way to understand one of Graham Bell's incredulous contemporaries is to imagine how we would feel if we were told that a way had been devised to make extrasensory perception a means of communication. – Sidney A. Aronson. (1977). *Bell's electrical toy: What's the use?* In I. deSola Pool (Ed.), *The social impact of the telephone*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Although strides had been made in the establishment of public schools, illiteracy rates were still high, particularly among non-Whites and immigrants. Newer immigrants tended to cluster in urban areas, unlike earlier waves of settlers who followed population trends to western sections of the country. The overpopulation in urban tenements and poor living conditions in industrial areas compounded the health and economic problems of these later immigrants.

Efforts to improve living conditions and educational opportunities for children were steadily progressing, although not all children benefitted equally. Events such as the first of a series of White House Conferences on Children and Youth in 1909, however, heralded a new era in sensitivity to the problems and needs of poorer children and measures to improve conditions for all children. An outcome of the conference was the establishment of the Children's Bureau that worked to outlaw child labor and encouraged the passage of compulsory school attendance laws (Heath, 1976).

CHILDHOOD IN THE UNITED STATES: 1890-1930

While westward settlement marked much of the 19th century, this expansion was largely completed by 1890. The trend from a rural agricultural society to an urban industrial one began before 1890 and continued into the 20th century. Family mobility continued to be an American phenomenon; but the movement now was to the cities where work was to be found in factories, rather than on rural farms. Accordingly, the growth and expansion of large cities predominated during this period. The needs of children, particularly those residing in urban areas, stimulated efforts to improve opportunities and services that would result in better education and quality of life.

The experience of childhood was changing at the turn of the century. In earlier historical periods, survival of the family was the main goal. Children worked to

help keep the family fed and clothed, and religious and economic factors dictated that children had little time to be idle. Now, the prosperity of a nation that was settled and established with a growing industrial economy, along with the expansion of educational opportunities for both males and females, resulted in fewer children working and more time spent in school. With the evolution of universal education and laws requiring attendance, children spent many hours each day in school, but also had time for recreation and play. Whereas the family had been the predominant influence on the child's development, other influences, including the school and social settings, now affected the child's values and attitudes.

Industrialization, urbanization and expansion of schooling led to concern for how children and youth spent their leisure time. Various organizations established programs for children and youth, especially for those crowded into slum or industrial areas (Reynolds, 1976). Many of these efforts were geared for older children working in industrial occupations, but opportunities for school children and very young children were also included in programs developed by voluntary and philanthropic organizations.

Settlement houses, established to help poor families living in urban slums, also addressed recreational needs of children. These social centers in crowded neighborhoods provided space for activities and offered services such as homes for working girls and boys, clubs for boys and for girls, music instruction, arts and crafts workshops and playgrounds.

Voluntary organizations concerned for the play and leisure time of children and youth were organized. The YWCA, organized in 1874, and the YMCA, in 1885, provided physical, social and cultural activities for young working men and women. Other voluntary youth organizations had similar goals for children and youth: Boys Club of America (1906), Campfire Girls (1910), Girl Scouts (1912) and Boy Scouts (1929) (Reynolds, 1976).

The playground and recreation movement resulted from the interest in providing safe places for urban children to play and for working youth to spend their recreational time. The early founders of the movement were concerned that older children have opportunities for wholesome recreation, partly to prevent juvenile delinquency. They were also interested in establishing play areas for young children during the summer months and facilitating activities for school-age children throughout the year.

The first playground, the Boston Sand Garden, was developed in 1885 when several large sand piles were placed at the Children's Mission on Parmeter Street. Other playgrounds soon followed in Massachusetts and other states. In 1906, the Playground Association of America was organized in Washington, D.C.; and, by 1910, manufacturers' catalogs featured iron, steel and wooden equipment for playgrounds (Frost & Wortham, 1988).

CONEY ISLAND

People probably enjoyed Coney for a number of reasons. First, the experience of the rides and the bustling midway was structured, fast-paced and extroverted. It allowed ordinary people to leave their cares momentarily behind and to escape into a fantasy land. Second, the atmosphere was sensuous and sensual. The crowds, the bands, the lights, the food and drink were seductive in themselves; but the rides and amusements also offered the promise of sanitized sex. Air jets in the funhouses lifted girls' skirts, couples were squeezed together by the force of the rides, and the promise of the sign by the roller coaster that, "she will throw her arms around your neck," was not lost on the crowd.

Third, the increasing pace and increasing mechanization of life may have made solitude and introspection unwelcome strangers to workers and business people alike. Mechanized, time structured leisure may simply reflect mechanized time structured lives. Fourth and finally, Coney's technological wonders allowed people to participate vicariously in the myth of progress, and to use technology for escape—as a contrast to their common experience of growing constraints and frustrations imposed upon daily life by the engine of technical change. – Robert E. Snow & David E. Wright (1976). Coney Island: A case study in popular culture and technical change. *Journal of Popular Culture, 9*, 960-964.

The Middle-Class Child: Play and Toys

The new, salaried middle-class family brought a new emphasis on family life. These urban middle–class families preferred to live outside the city in the suburbs. The advent of the streetcar and other forms of motorized transportation enabled the father, generally the major support of the family, to travel back and forth to his place of employment. The mother's place was at home with the children. Her responsibility was to manage the activities of the home and nurture the family.

Middle-class children no longer were working members of the family; their responsibility within an extended childhood was to complete a formal education and prepare for adulthood. Leisure time became an important part of childhood. Family excursions to the beach, amusement parks, or public playgrounds and sports activities were engaged in by the entire family. Baseball games were a popular summertime pastime. Families also went to public libraries and attended cultural events. Their children used leisure time after school and on weekends and holidays for play. The comfortable financial status of the family made it possible for parents to provide their children with toys for play.

Toys had been available for centuries. In medieval times, hoops, hobby-horses and other toys frequently pictured on art pieces were meant for adults, as well as children. By the 17th and 18th centuries, toys were available for children of the wealthy. In the early years of the 19th century, storybooks with a moral or death as a theme were produced for children. Later, dolls, doll houses and toy soldiers joined instructive toys such as jigsaw puzzles, travel games and cards. Dominoes and building blocks that could be put together and taken apart were advocated by medical advisers. By the late 19th century, middle-class children were surrounded by toys. Mass-produced toys were now affordable for middle-class parents. Dolls and toy soldiers shared space with bicycles, games, doll carriages, books and tops in the family home (Schorsch, 1979).

Children of the Poor

Although the last decades of the 19th century were prosperous for the nation as a whole, not all populations shared in the prosperity. Children of the poor and most minority children lived less comfortable and secure childhoods in the period known as the Progressive Era. While advocates for the improvement of conditions for children worked diligently to pass legislation to control child labor, regulate adoption and provide assistance for poor families, actual passage and enforcement of laws were slow and difficult.

Child Labor. By the turn of the century, laws regulating child labor had been enacted for 50 years to reduce the number of hours worked each day, increase the minimum age for full-time employment and require school attendance for all children. Until the end of the Civil War, however, enforcement of child labor laws was inconsistent. By the late 1800s, forces working against child labor were gathering strength. The labor movement, the growth of public education and social reform were strong enough to overcome manufacturers and employers who fought against losing children as resources for cheap labor (Datta, 1976).

Although these forces against the continuation of child labor were having an impact on the elimination of child labor, the battle was not easily won. Children were still employed by the hundreds of thousands in hazardous occupations. Hunter (1904), who opposed child labor, described children in the Chicago stockyards standing ankle-deep in blood and 6-year-old children carrying newly blown glass bottles from hot ovens in glass factories.

The National Child Labor committee was founded in 1904, followed by the Children's Bureau in 1912. The Bureau provided national leadership in opposing child labor. In 1916, Congress passed the Keatings-Owen Act, the first federal child labor law. Although the law was declared unconstitutional two years later, another effort in 1919 was launched when the federal government imposed a surtax on employers of child labor. This law was also declared unconstitutional in 1922.

Compulsory education laws, mandating that children would attend school, were somewhat more effective in removing children from employment. Mississippi, the last state to enact a compulsory education law, passed such legislation in 1918; nevertheless, child labor still continued due to inconsistent enforcement of the laws. It was not until the 1930s, when the Great Depression caused competition for employment, that strong steps were taken to end child labor. The Fair Labor Standards Act (1938) finally established national minimum standards for child labor that were accompanied by methods for enforcement. The minimum age for full employment was set at 16 years of age. Eighteen occupations were identified as too hazardous for children under the age of 16 (Datta, 1976).

IMMIGRANT FAMILIES IN PENNSYLVANIA IN 1900

August's rich heat baked the First Ward relentlessly, one hot, clear-skied day after another. Kracha, sprawled on a bed that grew sticky with his sweat, gasped for air and in wakeful sleep kept confusing the buzzing of flies with sounds from the mill. Freight trains shook the house with the rhythmic double thump of their trucks over a cocked joint some thirty feet from his pillow; cinders rattled against the window, smoke and dust sifted through the curtains. Anna, suffering from prickly heat, whimpered endlessly in the kitchen.

More stupefied than rested, it was almost with a sense of relief that he heard Elena start up the stairs to call him, to tell him it was time to go to work.

The two boarders who were also working night turn that week had already left when Kracha stepped out of the house. Elena followed him, wiping her hands on her apron. She asked a child playing near by if she'd seen Alice and the child said no, she hadn't, but Mary was over by the stables. Elena lifted her head and yelled, and down by the soap factory and the staoles a dark-dressed, black-stockinged figure stopped running. Her voice reached them as from a great distance. "What do you want?"

"Go to the store."

"I can't go now. Make Alice go."

"Come here!"

"I can't. I'm in it."

"Stop yelling your lungs out," Kracha said. "What does the brat mean, she is in?"

"Some game they play."

Beside them the house was row of windows and doorways stretching off on either side in diminishing perspective, washtubs hanging beside every other door. From within came the common household sounds, men and women talking, babies crying. The barren, filled-in ground on which the house stood seemed lifted above the river by its sheer drop to the water's edge where the company had built up the bank by pouring molten slag. The hill on the other side of the river was a dusty green. A rowboat was crossing from the direction of Kenny's Grove. Over to the right, past the comparatively new wire works, the sun was sliding toward the hills back of Homestead. The smoke and dust there would turn it into an enormous crimson disk. – Thomas Bell (1976). *Out of this furnace* (pp. 49-50). Pittsburgh, PA: The University of Pittsburgh Press.

In 1915, New England cotton mills still employed extended families, mostly French Canadian immigrants. The age of employed children was 16 or older; and unmarried young adults, particularly girls, continued to work in the mills and contribute to the family income. This family system of employment lasted until the 1930s (Sudia, 1976).

Foster Family Care and Adoption. The practice of placing orphans and children of destitute immigrant families in foster homes was common in the mid 1800s. This practice produced concerns; however, the New York Children's Aid Society sent children West and South to frontier areas to live with rural farm families. But when the frontier movement ended, farming became mechanized and the need for children as farm laborers was eliminated. There was also concern from the Roman Catholic Church over placing Irish children in non-Catholic homes. In addition, the New York Children's Aid Society was criticized for exercising little responsibility for selection of foster homes and their supervision following children's placement. By 1900, foster children were placed closer to home and were supervised by professional social workers.

The expansion of foster homes was affected by the closing of almshouses and other institutions for housing poor children. The 1888 National Conference of Corrections and Charities advocated the use of foster families rather than institutionalizing children. The first White House Conference on Children also supported the use of carefully selected foster homes rather than

institutional placement (Datta, 1976).

Before 1851, there were no laws concerning adoption. By 1929, every state had passed some type of legislation regarding adoption. Nevertheless, there was opportunity for abuse of the system; procedures for selecting suitable adoptive homes were informal or nonexistent. In the early years of adoption practices, children were frequently sold for adoption. In other instances, individuals charged high fees for placing or locating children for placement. Although Michigan law required a judge to investigate an adoptive home before finalizing an adoption, and Minnesota passed the first law requiring detailed investigation of an adoptive home in 1917, many states had no such regulations (Datta, 1976). In fact, a court case in 1925 involved an adopted child who was sold to parents who abused her sexually (Kadushin, 1974).

Between 1890 and 1930, some positive changes were occurring for care of orphans and children with destitute parents. Foster care subsidized by the states, improvement of adoption laws and lower incidences of adult deaths reduced the numbers of true orphans. At the same time, the population of poor children with a destitute parent increased. Many of these children were served by foster family care; however, the numbers of such children continued to rise beyond the ability of foster systems to serve them.

By 1930, thousands of children lived in families who were economically unable to care for them. The Great Depression added substantially to these numbers. During that decade, federal legislation to provide assistance to destitute families signaled a shift to a concern for all children of the poor, not just orphans and children of destitute widows. The emphasis changed from enabling the poor to survive, often through the use of their own labor, to direct services such as adoption and financial support to stabilize family income in times of crisis (Datta, 1976). These public assistance services, initiated during the depression years, have continued in the final decade of the 20th century to assist increasing numbers of families in poverty.

Health Conditions

Concern about child health and the high infant death rate was not a new issue in 1890. State health departments had been established after the Civil War, and the foundation of the field of pediatrics signaled future research in child development and improved training for physicians. Although infant deaths had dropped by 1900, there were still many measures that needed to be taken to improve the survival chances for infants and children.

Between 1900 and 1910, one-third of the people who died in New York City each year were children under 5 years of age and 10 percent of those deaths were babies less than a year old (Public Health Service, 1976). Health experts were appalled with the lack of proper care and feeding of children that resulted from well-meaning but uninformed parents. A writer in the *Ladies Home Journal*, in 1904, expressed concern about mothers who would never let young children drink beer, but gave them patent medicines that might contain alcohol, opium or cocaine (Public Health Service, 1976).

The Children's Bureau was charged with investigating the causes of infant mortality, birthrates and childhood accidents and diseases. Through the efforts of the Bureau, states began to establish birth registration which facilitated the study of infant mortality and childhood deaths. These studies resulted in establishing a link between maternal health and the baby's survival chances during the first year.

Poor mothers were most likely to die as a result of childbirth; additionally, their babies were less likely to survive through the first year. Poor women delivered their own babies or depended on neighbors or untrained midwives. In 1910, untrained midwives delivered 42 percent of all the babies born in Providence, Rhode Island. A health officer in that city reported midwife practices included dressing the umbilical cord with snuff and feeding the newborn a mixture of molasses and a small child's urine (Public Health Service, 1976).

Through the efforts of Julia Lathrop, who headed the Children's Bureau, the Sheppard-Towner Act of 1921 established a federal-state program for maternal and infant health. Steps were taken to establish maternity and infant welfare centers, promote birth registration and provide educational classes for mothers and midwives. By 1927, 45 states and the Territory of Hawaii had accepted the provisions of the law. Mothers were also encouraged to become informed about the care of their infants. Through the Children's Bureau, the federal government published the first edition of *Infant Care* that offered the latest knowledge on child development and practical advice. Another booklet, *Prenatal Care*, emphasizing good nutrition and adequate medical supervision during pregnancy, had been published in 1913.

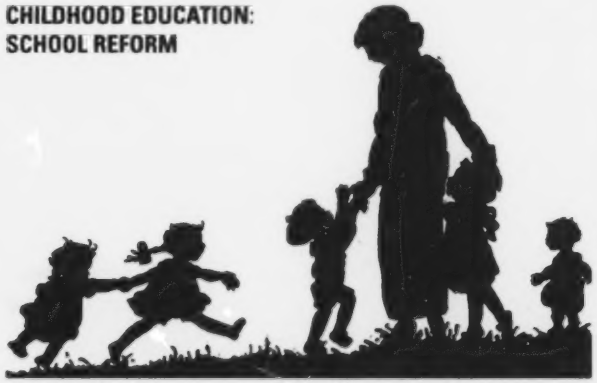
Prevention of disease in children was another concern. The source of contagious diseases in children often came from crowded living conditions in urban areas. Overcrowded city schools contributed to the spread of disease. Compulsory school attendance laws, passed in the later decades of the 19th century, added to the overcrowded conditions. To correct the problems, states began to pass school health examination laws that would exclude children with a contagious disease. Schools also had to be inspected by health inspectors to determine the condition of the school environment. Although 19 states in 1911 had passed laws or established procedures for school inspections, 29 states had made no such provisions (Public Health Service, 1976).

Throughout the period from 1890 to 1930, efforts continued to regulate milk production and sales to ensure that infants and children were supplied with milk that was safe. The beginnings of the development of antitoxins and antiseptics also contributed to the prevention of disease and illness. These practices, along with better training of physicians and nurses, benefitted children who had to be hospitalized. Previously, children contracted more serious illnesses during their hospital stay than the condition that led to their hospitalization.

Much was accomplished to improve maternal and child health within the four

decades between 1890 and 1930. The efforts were impressive but did not begin to eliminate the problems contributing to childhood disease and illness. Similar efforts continue today as new sources of health problems replace those that have been controlled or eliminated.

CHILDHOOD EDUCATION: SCHOOL REFORM



Public school systems were in dire need of improvement in 1890. Cremin (1961) reported that rural schools not only were in poor condition, but instruction also had declined. They remained ungraded and children were taught by untrained teachers. Teachers continued using outdated curriculum and textbooks; moreover, recitation was the primary pedagogical method. City schools had a different set of problems. Ever growing numbers of immigrant children and migrating farm children were served in school buildings that were poorly lighted and heated and unsanitary. In some schools, class size exceeded 60 children per teacher.

The public education system faced many challenges if education was to be improved. Physical plants needed to be replaced or refurbished. The school curriculum had to be revised. Curriculum consistency between high schools and new state universities had to be determined. No longer could local school boards devise their own curriculum and hire instructors without regard for their qualifications. Teacher training needed expansion and improvement. The problem of low pay for teachers was significant. Better pay was a prerequisite to attracting better qualified teachers to the profession (Curti, 1971).

With urbanization, industrialization and universal education, the schools had a new role to play. For the first time in history, industrialization determined that children would not necessarily follow the occupations of their fathers. To qualify for new vocations in industry, students needed vocational training at the secondary level if they did not plan to continue to higher education. Schools had the additional responsibility of determining the type of secondary training that was appropriate for individual students.

THE PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The rising tide of nationalism that swept the country in the 1890s also had an effect on the appearance of the country school and the schoolyard. In 1892 Francis Bellamy, Baptist minister and editor of the *Youth's Companion*, wrote the pledge of allegiance and set off a flurry of flag buying and flagpole raisings in thousands of little districts across the Middle Border, so that for a time the minutes of the annual meetings ran black with motions to purchase a flag and flagpole. In 1896 in the little school of District 3, Montrose Township south of Belleville in Dane County, Wisconsin, the farmers were able to restrain their enthusiasm and voted to purchase a flag no larger than three by five feet, but the year before, at the Uphoff School in the county, the farmers voted not only to buy a "six foot bunting flag staff," but to invite Cristian Uphoff to raise the flag for the first time.

In these years the flag was also being moved inside the schoolroom, which increasingly was being decorated to teach patriotism, history, and the middle-class virtues of perseverance and success. The interior of the Maple Grove School, District 8 in Berrien Township, Berrien County, Michigan, in 1887, was a typical example of how the schoolroom itself could be made to support the Midwesterners' values. On the front wall, visible to all as they entered, hung George Washington's picture, and next to it a huge "welcome" sign. On the left wall, written in large letters above the draped American flag, was the assurance that "Punctuality Brings Its Own Rewards," and prominently displayed behind the teacher's desk was the Ordinance of 1787. – Wayne E. Fuller (1982) *The old country school* (pp. 76-77) Chicago: The University of Chicago Press

The evolving American schools also served a social function for immigrant and transient rural children. They were expected to acculturate and assimilate students into the American culture and language. With the rapid growth of cities, the merging of many cultures and the weakening of the influence of churches and families, schools had to assume additional functions of setting standards for hygiene, correct behavior and thought in a pluralistic, democratic society (Handlin, 1976).

Whether at the elementary, secondary or university level, school became the institution for education. Whereby an educated person had been considered one who had knowledge of the classics, now an educated person was one who had been to college. Understanding of the roles and benefits of education had made a shift that affected the expectations of schools from that point forward (Graham, 1976).

Progressive Education

Progressive education was an effort to use the schools to meet the needs of an evolving urban-industrial society. It was intended to improve the lives of individuals, however diverse their background, and to replace the rigid impractical curriculum that had stagnated public education after the Civil War (Cremin, 1961). Much was expected of the public schools because, for the first time, a high level of literacy was required if graduates were to be able to make a living. As with later educational movements, the progressive education movement was unable to achieve all of its goals. The schools were expected to achieve what society could not accomplish.

Nevertheless, progressive education was a humanitarian effort to apply the promise of American life to all students. To accomplish this lofty goal, the function of the school not only had to be broadened to include concern for health, vocation and the quality of family life, but instruction had to be tailored to the varied groups of children being served. Progressives believed that culture could be democratized for all of society through compulsory school attendance.

John Dewey referred to Francis A. Parker as the father of the progressive education movement. After traveling widely in Europe after the Civil War and observing leading pedagogical innovation, Parker was committed to effecting similar changes in American education. When the school board of Quincy, Massachusetts, determined to improve the schools in that community, Parker was appointed superintendent of schools. Although not without critics, the changes in curriculum brought national attention to the Quincy schools.

Parker eventually became principal of Cook County Normal School in Chicago where he was able to implement his pedagogical techniques: child-centered and interrelated subject content to make the curriculum more meaningful for students. Art was a central component of the curriculum, while content of the subject areas was seen as a vehicle for child expression. The teacher's role was to lead children into the fields of knowledge and to extend meanings along the way (Curti, 1971).

When Dewey moved to Chicago to become a professor at the University of Chicago in 1894, his son and daughter were enrolled in the Cook County Normal School. Impressed with Parker's curriculum innovations at the school, he established the Laboratory School at the University of Chicago to test his own theories for educational change. Dewey's goal was to develop a school that could become a cooperative community while developing individual capacities at the same time. Life and its occupations should provide the basis for education, with the main test of success being the ability of individuals to meet new social situations through thoughtful action. The schoolroom should be a miniature society where the problems of a democracy are met through cooperative effort and scientific methods (Cremin, 1961; Snyder, 1972).

Dewey saw the teacher's role as guiding children toward an understanding of knowledge. The teacher should have a thorough acquaintance with organized knowledge representing the disciplines taught in the school. Theme activities integrating the content areas, rather than subject matter taught separately by discipline, were to be the basis for curriculum designed to meet the experiences and needs of students.

Dewey believed that in order to make democracy work, education had to be founded on democratic ideals and function through democratic processes. For Parker, Dewey and others, the United States had reached a point where it could move beyond European influences to develop an indigenous philosophy of education.

Reforms in Rural Education

Rural schools also felt the pressure to reform. They were expected to adopt improvements in curriculum and instruction that would replace existing practices. States passed legislation that all instruction be in English so that immigrant children would learn the new language quickly. The Palmer Method of penmanship was introduced as new emphasis was placed on handwriting skills. Country superintendents began to use standardized tests for 8th-grade graduates.

Consolidation, however, was the major reform that would ensure that rural schools would incorporate the more progressive methods. President Theodore Roosevelt formed the National Commission on Country Life that included problems in rural schools as part of its mission. It was believed that rural areas could have larger student populations with separate grades in different classrooms through consolidation efforts. Advocated by the federal government, consolidation of rural schools became a national movement.

Although rural families and communities often resisted this change because the focus of the community would be lost, pressures to conform were strong. Publications by prominent educators advocated consolidation as the answer to the needs of rural people. State legislatures provided better funding for consolidated schools, and in some states financial support was linked to compulsory school attendance laws. School administrators pushed for consolidation, recognizing that rural schools had inadequate supervision, poor financial support and below-standard curriculum. One-room schools began to close. Although it would take decades to accomplish, consolidation of rural schools was the trend that would not be reversed (Gulliford, 1984).

Reforms in Teacher Preparation

When Columbia Teachers College was chartered in 1892, it attracted Edward L.Thorndike, John Dewey, William Heard Kilpatrick and, later, Patty Smith Hill. Teachers College took a leadership role in various aspects of educational change, including the furthering of the progressive movement, the child study movement and professionalism in teacher preparation.

James Earl Russell, president of Columbia Teachers College in 1899, developed a concept of professional education that would be a guide in preparing teachers. Russell's interest in training teachers extended beyond public schooling to private schools, reform schools, hospitals, settlements and other philanthropic institutions. He made firsthand tours of southern schools during the reconstruction period following the Civil War and helped select young men and women to be trained at Teachers College (Cremin, 1961).

The work of Teachers College in training teachers, as well as that of other universities, colleges and normal schools, was desperately needed; educators began to devise means to standardize requirements for securing a teacher certificate. Despite these efforts, states had a long way to go before they demanded a college education for teachers.

Before the Civil War, women entered the teaching profession in large numbers. By 1862, the number of women teachers exceeded the number of men teachers in New Jersey. After the Civil War, other states reported similar numbers. A 1911 study reported that the typical teacher was 24 years old, female and had four years of education beyond the elementary school (Bonn, 1976).

Attempts to improve teacher preparation standards were interrupted, however, by World War I. In 1918, the National Education Association reported that half of the 600,000 teachers lacked special training; furthermore, about 20 percent were without a 10th-grade education. As late as 1926, 15 states had not set scholarship requirements for a teaching certificate. States bound teachers to petty restrictions that seemed more important than teacher training in some states.

Employment of teachers in their home towns was prohibited in Alabama, and a North Carolina county outlawed "quarreling among teachers." Between 1920 and 1930, school

authorities in several communities refused to appoint teachers who bobbed their hair, painted their lips, or rouged their cheeks. Such restrictions often were embodied in state codes or written into contracts. A Virginia county school system rule still on the books in 1935 read, "Any conduct such as staying out late at night, etc., which may cause criticism of the teacher will not be tolerated by the school board." (Bonn, 1976, p. 168)

The Child Study Movement

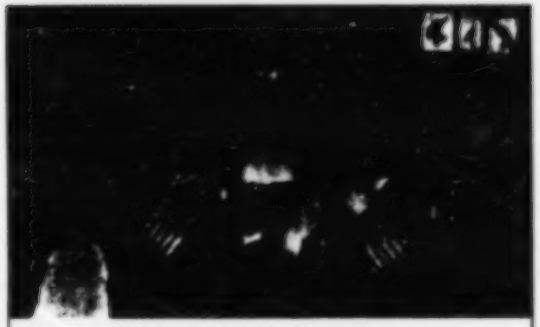
The progressive education movement was but one source of change that would affect the course of education in the 20th century. The child study movement was to bring a totally new perspective on how children, particularly young children, should be educated. G. Stanley Hall's *The Content of Children's Minds* (1883) and Edward L. Thorndike's *Animal Intelligence* (1911), along with John Dewey's *School and Society* (1900), formed a nucleus of new ideas in science, psychology, philosophy and education that would transform educational practice. The ideas emanating from Charles Darwin's *The Origin of Species* (1859) put into place the concept of change, adaptation, development and survival, rather than the belief of fixed species. Now, society had to reconsider the religious and moral principles of the 17th and 18th centuries and its faith in a fixed and knowable truth (Weber, 1984). Darwin's theory of the evolutionary effect on growth and development, combined with new perspectives on scientific study of the nature and scope of development, resulted in a clearer understanding of the relationship between development and learning.

Edward Thorndike, influenced by the work of Binet and Simon on the measurement of intelligence, conducted observational experiments on learning at Teachers College, leading to his explanation of behavior as a matter of stimulus and response. He defined three basic laws of learning–readiness, exercise and effect–through stimulus and response connections. Thorndike's *Educational Psychology* (1910) explained his theory and its relationship to learning.

Stanley Hall, president of Clark University, established a center for child study that was followed by similar centers at other colleges and universities. Using questionnaires as a technique for gathering data, more than 100 studies related to child development were produced under his leadership (Weber, 1984). Hall's basic thesis, based on Darwinism, was that individual growth and development passed through stages similar to the stages man passed through from presavagery to civilization. From findings in his studies, Hall proposed a child-centered school curriculum based on the nature, growth and development of children (Cremin, 1961).

Arnold Gesell, one of Hall's most influential students, made his own contribution to child study through the Yale Clinic of Child Development established in 1911. His observational research focused on the maturation of the child, based on the concept of inherent or genetic predetermination. Gesell established norms of growth and development and the principle of developmental readiness for learning that was most influential in schooling after 1930.

The new scientific approach to learning had implications for schooling and became the basis for major reform in education. Other changes and development were also evolving that would affect schooling. A growing sensitivity to the needs of disabled children was resulting in better programs for this population of students. Efforts were also being made to improve education for Blacks, particularly through the work of Booker T. Washington and J. L. M. Curry. It would be after the end of WW II before major improvements would be made on behalf of these two populations of students.



REFORMS IN BLACK EDUCATION

In the summer of 1886, at age eighteen, W. E. B. DuBois taught school in the hills of Tennessee. He was a Fisk University student then, and it was common for "Fisk men" to venture into rural Tennessee during summer vacations to gain practical experience in teaching. In a rural black community that seemed least removed from slavery DuBois found a school. He was informed that but once since the Civil War had a teacher been there.

Yet, undaunted by their poverty and sustained by a distinctive orientation toward learning, the parents saw to it when school opened in late July that their children attended. In the early morning, DuBois heard "the patter of little feet down the dusty road," and soon he faced a "room of dark solemn faces and bright eager eyes." "There they sat," DuBois recalled, "nearly thirty of them, on the rough benches, their faces shading from a pale cream to a deep brown, the little feet bare and swinging, the eyes full of mischief, and the hands grasping Webster's blue-back spelling book. – James D. Anderson. (1988). *The education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (pp. 282-283). Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.

Reforms in Black Education

The meager resources invested in the education of Blacks after the years of reconstruction in the South reflected the southern White attitude that Blacks should work with their hands rather than prepare for professional careers. Eight occupations accounted for 74 percent of the employed Black citizens in both the North and the South: waiter, servant, cook, barber, laborer, porter, laundress and seamstress (Gross & Gross, 1976). Although land grant colleges had been established for Black students, only those students whose parents had economic means to send them attended.

The question of what kind of education was most appropriate for Blacks in the post–Civil War economy focused on occupations that were possible. In the South, Black skilled tradesmen were thriving and forming a middle-class population. In the North, particularly in Boston, urban Blacks were joined by southern Black immigrants seeking better opportunities. Unfortunately, low occupational status, high mobility and high death rates due to poor living conditions meant that opportunities were also limited in the North.

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Efforts to advance Blacks through education were funded through philanthropy. Some Black leaders advocated industrial education as a route toward progress without threatening the power structure and avoiding conflict during the post-reconstruction era (Gross & Gross, 1976). Booker T. Washington was one leader who sought to educate his people through accommodation to and compromise with the power structure. He sought dignity and respect by preparing Black people to be artisans and competent workers. Tuskegee Institute, founded by Washington in 1881, established a practical education for Blacks and successfully overcame prejudice against the education of Blacks.

J. L. M. Curry, the best known and influential figure in southern education during the period, also was a force in this movement. A traditional, White southern gentleman, devoted to the work of the Baptist Church, Curry believed industrial education would benefit Blacks. Although he had to battle more conservative southern Whites, he successfully secured funds for educating Blacks and motivated others to do the same (Curti, 1971).

While Washington believed that equality for Black people could only be achieved in the distant future, W. E. DuBois held the position that there was an equally important need for Blacks to have more immediate access to higher education. DuBois, who had earned his doctorate from Harvard, believed that Blacks who received a liberal education could help the progress of the whole Black population. He initiated the Niagara movement in 1905, to organize through protest the cause for voting rights and equality. The Niagara movement failed; but, in 1909, DuBois and other liberal Black leaders established the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), with a mission to pursue educational equality.

Separate but equal facilities were legally established in the railroad case of Plessy vs. Ferguson. A 1908 Kentucky statute that required separate instruction for Blacks and Whites was upheld in court. School segregation was made legal, and the NAACP's efforts to assure that separate facilities were equal in quality of education usually failed. When cases of inequality were tried, the courts usually ruled that inequality had not been properly demonstrated (Gross & Gross, 1976). The battle for educational equality was not to be achieved until much later.

Education of Disabled Children

Alexander Graham Bell proposed to the 1898 convention of the National Education Association that programs for the disabled be established in the public schools. In addition to being an inventor, Dr. Bell was also a speech therapist.

He was not the first to advocate education for disabled children. Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet, a teacher, visited a school for the deaf in Paris. Using the information he learned in France, he established the American Asylum for the Deaf in West Hartford, Connecticut, in 1817. In 1826, Dr. John D. Fisher persuaded the Massachusetts State Legislature to vote funds to establish the New England Asylum for the Blind in Boston, which became the Perkins School for the Blind. Anne Sullivan, Helen Keller's teacher, was a graduate of Perkins Institute, as was Laura Bridgman who was both blind and deaf. In 1871, a day school for severely hearing-impaired students was also established in Boston, followed by a class for mentally retarded children in Providence in 1896 and a school for physically disabled children in Chicago four years later.

Elizabeth Farrell, a public school teacher in New York City, demonstrated how disabled children should be taught as individuals and according to their disabilities in public schools. She organized an ungraded class for children who were considered to be "misfits." Later, she organized classes for younger children who were mentally retarded and trade classes for older retarded children. In 1922, she organized the Council for Exceptional Children and served as its first president. The Council was concerned with exceptionally gifted children, as well as the physically, mentally and emotionally disabled (Gross & Gross, 1976).

EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION: EXPANSION AND CHANGE

The last decades of the 19th century were years of great growth for kindergarten education. Associations were organizing to extend these efforts. Public school kindergartens were growing in number, although the settlement kindergartens continued to be established to serve destitute children and their mothers. The humanitarian interest in providing programs for poor children had led to a view that Froebel's Gifts and Occupations were an appropriate curriculum for the new emphasis on industrial education these children would need when they were older (Weber, 1969). Teachers in settlement kindergartens, however, found the Froebelian Program difficult to maintain in light of the problems with which children lived and the lack of appropriate classroom settings for classes at urban settlement locations.

Influence of Scientific Thinking

While teachers of philanthropic kindergarten programs found it necessary to change the curriculum to fit their children's needs, the kindergarten movement as a whole was engaged in a controversy over the direction it should take because of the new scientific emphases currently affecting reform in the public schools. Progressive kindergartens were strongly affected by Hall, Dewey and Thorndike and the implications of their research for how kindergarten teachers should plan and implement instruction.

As a result of his work on early development, Hall proposed that more attention be given to children's health problems, as well as recommending that the curriculum be child centered and based on the stages of development. Dewey believed that activities for children must promote psychological continuity of growth. Work for the young child should be constructive, with young children learning to think by managing their own experiences and solving problems related to new situations. Dewey was critical of Froebelian methods whereby children

imitated teacher directions. Constructive work, including field trips, music, nature study and gardening, should use activities related to the child's out-of-school life. Social interaction was important, as was the perception of the class as a miniature community (Cremin, 1969). Thorndike related his psychological laws of stimulus-response learning to kindergarten, where children should form acceptable habits through use of concrete objects, in imaginative play and following appropriate social forms (Weber, 1969).

Although Dewey and Thorndike are both associated with progressive education, their philosophy about the purposes of education and instructional methods differed. Thorndike focused on educational research and practice based on measurement of learning. Dewey, on the other hand, was concerned with the interests and talents possessed by children and how school could foster a cooperative community in which children could develop their individual potential. These two approaches to progressivism resulted in a struggle between child-centered education and a more scientific basis for education supported by educational testing. These two positions on the best approach for educating young children persist to the present day.

Progressive Kindergarten Programs

Kindergartens were already breaking with traditional Froebelian methods. Anna Bryan viewed the kindergarten as a laboratory for vitalizing teaching practices. Eudora Hailmann divorced herself from rigid Froebelian practices by introducing a sand table, doll house and enlarged forms of building gifts into her classroom. Alice Putnam, influenced by Colonel Francis Parker and Jane Addams, used science and art with young children (Snyder, 1972; Weber, 1969).

As new sources of philosophical and psychological thought and work became understood, kindergarten educators entered a period of confusion and controversy about curriculum practices. The progressives embraced the newer influences, while the conservatives held on to Froebelian methods. Some progressives made minor modifications in the Froebelian curriculum, while others abandoned it altogether.

Many programs incorporated Hall's recommendation for freedom of movement and scheduled periods of free play with seesaws, swings, dolls, toy dishes, beanbags, sand piles and garden tools. Directed work was changed to free choice, while traditional games were replaced by dramatic play. Social development following John Dewey's ideas was stressed in other kindergartens. In Dewey's own sub-primary program, constructive work with blocks and raw materials was used to engage in realistic activities of the home and community. Still another kindergarten curriculum model, called an industrial program, emphasized neighborhood occupations using Froebelian materials.

FREEDOM FOR PUPILS, RELAXATION FOR TEACHERS
By Mr. Kerr, Superintendent, Kirkwood, Mo.

In our schools we have emphasized activity. Every boy and girl in the grades is given 30 minutes to play in the morning and 30 minutes play in the afternoon during school hours, under intelligent direction. There is freedom in the school both for the children and for the teachers. The boys and girls can go about the building with exactly the same freedom you teachers have in this hotel. It is no sin if boys and girls talk to each other. If you make a rigid system where the boy and the girl are under a police system, there is not relaxation.

Every grade teacher has two periods of relaxation during the day. In the upper grades the teachers get three 30-minute periods for that purpose. As a result, we have better teachers. We are not doing that for the teachers only; we are doing it for the boys and girls, for by this plan we have a set of teachers who are at their best all the time. – National Council of Primary Education. Report of the Second Annual Meeting at Kansas City, Mo., February 27, 1917 and the Third Annual Meeting at Atlantic City, N.J., February 26, 1918. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education. Bulletin 1918, No. 26.

DISCUSSION OF DELEGATES
Miss Faddis of St. Paul

It behooves us all to see what we can do to make a freer atmosphere. I went into a room a few years ago where the children were sitting in straight rows. I was examining the lower grades in phonics, and was giving exercises to test the children, or asking the teachers to do so. In this case the teacher thought the exercise would be more orthodox if she gave it, so she called the children up to the board, and when they were there in a straight row she told them to do just what they were told to do. Then she began using the phonic "im" and they said "grim," prim," etc., and then took their seats; I could not bear to leave the room without finding out whether these children could be anything but grim and prim, so I began to talk to them about the sounds I heard on my way to school that morning, and about the chickens. I did not have a sound of response when I asked them if they had any chickens at home, and finally I said, "You know what chickens say, don't you?" There was no response, and the teacher said, "They do not, they have not been informed." – National Council of Primary Education. Third Annual Meeting at Atlantic City, NJ, February 26, 1918. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education. Bulletin 1918, No. 26.

Influence of the Child Study Movement

The findings from Hall's child studies had a direct impact on the move away from the Froebelian curriculum. It was learned, for example, that large muscle development preceded small muscle development; therefore, Froebelian materials requiring fine motor skills were inappropriate. Larger building blocks, dolls, a playhouse with kitchen utensils and toy animals were recommended by Alice Temple. Drawing, painting, and clay modeling became the child's expression instead of teacher-directed Froebelian occupations stressing preciseness of the production (Weber, 1969).

These are a few examples of innovations implemented by teachers recognizing the need to match curriculum practices with the child's development. As the new scientific approach to curriculum gained wider acceptance and more research was conducted, the process of curriculum reform in the kindergarten continued.

Kindergarten-Primary Conflict

Kindergarten increasingly became part of public school systems between 1900 and 1925. At that time, primary grades had not yet incorporated curriculum modifications resulting from the new ideas in educational philosophy and psychology. This resulted in debate between kindergarten programs based on new studies in child development and progressive education and primary education with a predetermined curriculum implemented through recitation and drill. The hope of those supporting progressive kindergartens was to effect changes in primary curriculum to make it more like kindergarten curriculum.

Primary teachers held a different view. From their perspective, the role of the

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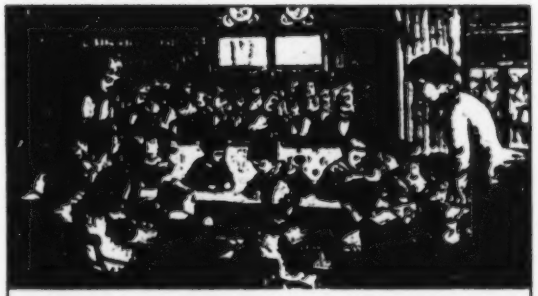
Boston Herald April 24, 1902

kindergarten program was to prepare children for 1st grade. A need for continuity was agreed upon, but the nature of the continuity was the source of disagreement between the two groups. Addressing delegates to the 9th annual meeting of the International Kindergarten Union in Boston, Superintendent Edwin Seaver of the Boston Public Schools summarized the problem:

> Ever since the kindergarten became an important factor in public education we have heard and read much about the need of closer relations between the kindergarten and primary schools. Sometimes we hear the primary school criticized because it, or the lower part of it does not become itself a kindergarten. On the other hand, we hear the kindergarten criticized because it does not take on more the traditional character of a primary school. (Boston Herald, April, 24, 1902)

The conflict between these two views was eased as public schools modified their curriculum as a result of school reform. Improvements in teacher training for both kindergarten and elementary school teachers provided preparation for teaching that was more similar. Professionalization of education and movement toward certification for teachers resulted in growth of training programs in colleges and normal schools, with a corresponding decline in independent kindergarten programs. By 1930, at least 80 percent of teacher training institutions combined the preparation of kindergarten and primary teachers. Prominent kindergarten proponents led university efforts to improve kindergarten-primary education and training. Patty Smith Hill, who had studied under Anna Bryan, became a member of the faculty at Columbia Teachers College, while Alice Temple led the kindergarten-primary unit at the University of Chicago.



RUTH BURRITT

Ruth Burritt was another person who played an important part in arousing public interest in kindergartens. Miss Burritt, elementary school teacher, had first become interested in Froebel's teachings from observing a kindergarten in Wisconsin. Realizing her need for training if she was to pursue the new work, she went East for study and later took a position as a kindergartener in Boston. When it was decided to have a demonstration kindergarten at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition, Miss Burritt was appointed as teacher upon the recommendation of the Froebel Society of Boston. Under her direction the kindergarten soon became one of the most popular features of the fair. The tiny pupils, who were orphans from the Northern Home for Friendless Children, were brought to the exhibition grounds three days a week for demonstration sessions. The rest of the time Miss Burritt lived at the orphanage with them and succeeded in causing several reforms to be carried out at the institution. During the demonstration sessions the children went through a typical kindergarten routine, with songs, marching, games, and periods devoted to handicrafts. Thousands of visitors thronged past to watch them and to listen to Miss Burritt's explanations of the Froebelian system. As the result of the interest aroused by the demonstrations, kindergartens were started for the first time in many communities throughout the United States. – E. L. Thornborough (1956). Eliza A. Baker, Her life and work. Indianapolis: The Eliza A. Baker Club, Inc. and the Indiana Historical Society.

Nursery School Movement and Other Early Childhood Programs

While the kindergarten movement was serving increasing numbers of 5-year-old children, the nursery school movement was established to serve children under the age of 5. The nursery school concept originated in England under the leadership of Rachel and Margaret McMillan, who desired to provide physical care under healthful conditions for poor children. English nursery schools soon incorporated the psychoanalytic thinking of Freud and Jung.

In the United States, nursery schools began because of research in child development. The Ruggles Street Nursery School in Boston, established in 1920, was funded as a philanthropic effort. The new child development research centers at colleges and universities also established nursery classrooms in laboratory school settings. By 1926, such nursery schools were operating at Columbia Teachers College, Johns Hopkins, Yale, Iowa University, Merrill-Palmer School for Homemaking and University of Minnesota. Over the years, the movement spread as universities across the United States established nursery schools and child development centers for research, teacher training and curriculum development (Weber, 1969).

Simultaneously, other early childhood educators were conducting experimental programs according to their own vision of desirable innovations in preschool education. Two such schools were established by Caroline Pratt and Margaret Naumberg.

Caroline Pratt's play schools in several New York City locations became known as the City and Country School. Originating from a desire to do something for the poor, the school eventually enrolled children from 3 to 13 and included a summer camping program. The program was based on firsthand experiences and individual expression on the part of students. Academic subjects were postponed until students were 7 years old. These subjects were learned through play and child-initiated investigations.

The Walden School, established by Margaret Naumberg in 1915, applied Freud's theory of analytic psychology. Naumberg's intention was to create an environment that would facilitate the release of children's unconscious emotional life into personal expression. She rejected behaviorism and Dewey's social cooperativeness in favor of individual personality (Weber, 1969).

Such individual efforts to develop early childhood programs were joined by

many other approaches, including short-lived Montessori programs and schools with behaviorist curricula. As the field of psychology and child development produced additional research knowledge, the field of early childhood education continued to respond and incorporate new information into various program models.

INTERNATIONAL KINDERGARTEN UNION: BEGINNINGS OF ASSOCIATION FOR CHILDHOOD EDUCATION INTERNATIONAL

> "I think that one of the most distinct remembrances is that one of the ladies who sat on the platform, sat with her knees crossed and swinging one foot. I was horrified because I had been taught that ladies kept their feet on the floor. I rather think that in spite of the years that have passed, I still hold somewhat to the same idea." – From a letter from Fannie Smith, charter member of the International Kindergarten Union, to Mary Leeper, Executive Secretary, October 10, 1941, describing the first IKU meeting.

When the 30 charter members of the International Kindergarten Union met in 1892 at the Baptist Church in Saratoga Springs, New York, the kindergarten movement already had a successful history in the United States. Philanthropic, parochial and public school kindergartens had been established in all sections of the country. Training schools had been organized to train kindergarten teachers. As the numbers of kindergartens expanded, educators began to form associations for mutual support and advancement of their cause. Between 1880 and 1890, kindergarten departments were added at normal schools. Ruth Burritt conducted a demonstration kindergarten at the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. As a result of the interest aroused by the Exposition, kindergartens and kindergarten associations increased even more. During this same period, kindergartens made rapid progress in their acceptance in public school systems (Association for Childhood Education, 1937).

Recognition of the relevance of kindergartens as part of public school systems was validated in 1884 when a kindergarten unit was added to the National Education Association. It was at an earlier meeting of NEA that the kindergarten educators decided to form their own organization and extend their work more effectively. The aims of the new organization were:

- To gather and disseminate knowledge of the kindergarten movement throughout the world.
- To bring into active cooperation all kindergarten interests.
- To promote the establishment of kindergartens.
- To elevate the standard of professional training of kindergarteners. (Smith, 1942, p. 84)

One of the first projects of this NEA unit was to make plans for presenting a model kindergarten at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago, in 1893. The International Kindergarten Union held a meeting at the Exposition, followed by a meeting of the International Congress of Education under NEA auspices. At these meetings, papers were read and addresses given concerning the progress of the kindergarten movement as well as problems associated with the establishment of kindergartens.

At the dinner meeting of NEA, IKU decided to hold meetings apart from NEA and the National Council of Women with which it was also affiliated. Subsequently, IKU met as a separate organization for the first time at Teachers College, New York City, in February 1896. In the years to follow, the organization continued to develop and grow and quickly became involved in issues surrounding the school reform movement (Smith, 1942).

IKU: An International Organization

From its inception, the new kindergarten association was intended to be an international organization with the primary objective of gathering and disseminating information about the kindergarten movement. One of the original charter members, Ada Marean Hughes, was a pioneer in the establishment of kindergartens in Canada. She and her husband, James L. Hughes, a Toronto

ONE OF THE FIRST QUESTIONNAIRES SENT TO IKU BRANCHES
ST. LOUIS CONFERENCE, 1897

To Branches and Members of IKU:

There has been so much discussion in reference to the right *size* and *use* of Kindergarten materials that it seems desirable to get a consensus of opinions from within our own ranks.

Will you therefore kindly help us to an intelligent discussion of the matter by answering *very soon* the following questions, giving to many the results of your own observations and experience? A report based on these returns will be made at the St. Louis meeting April 19th, 20th, 21st. Presidents and officers of Branches are requested to circulate these papers among individual members, or to make the questions topics at regular meetings.

1. Do you think it desirable to enlarge the 1*st*, 2*nd*, 3*rd*, 4*th* and 5*th* gifts? Reasons.
2. Do you use stick-laying? How? Objections, if any.
3. Do you follow a sequence of games? Illustrate your method.
4. What games do you find most valuable? Where do you find them?
5. Do you use the Froebel drawing? Reasons *pro* and *con*.
6. What do you sew? Materials used.
7. Do you use perforating? Reasons *pro* and *con*.
8. Do you use the Mother Play in your kindergarten?
9. Do you use a programme? How do you make it?
10. Have you found any help from Child-Study literature and discussions? What have you done in this direction?

Please send your answers to any or all of these questions to Lucy Wheelock, 284 Dartmouth St., Boston, or to Corresponding Secretary—Sara E. Wiltse, W. Roxbury, Mass.

THE KINDERGARTEN AS
A PREPARATION FOR THE HIGHEST CIVILIZATION

The child from four to six years of age, the proper age for the kindergarten, has not yet hardened himself through the influence of the slum or through the influence of a too indulgent education in the nursery of the rich family, so as to be beyond the hope of cure through the school. The kindergarten is for this reason the most potent of all the instrumentalities used to overcome the influence of the slums which exist in our cities. Urban life is increasing all over the land and it is the natural effect of urban life to concentrate in certain quarters of the city the weaklings of society. The slum has been called the menace to civilization. It is certainly the menace to local self-government and political freedom.

As a matter of self-preservation each city should organize a strong force of kindergartens throughout all precincts where the weaklings of society come together.

Viewed in this special function of usefulness, Froebel's kindergarten is a great blessing to civilization, and for this and much else Froebel's name is to be celebrated as one of the great apostles of humanity. – W. T. Harris. From a paper read at the annual meeting of the International Kindergarten Union, Pittsburgh, PA, April 16, 1903.

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educator, were frequent speakers at IKU meetings. In 1905, IKU held its annual meeting in Toronto. The following year, Ada Hughes, a conservative Froebelian, was elected president of the organization. She maintained a leadership position in IKU until her death in 1929 (Dixon, 1991).

By 1924, IKU had branches in Canada, England, China and Japan. There were 15 state branches in the United States, 1 territorial branch in Hawaii and 132 local branches in 30 states with over 25,000 members. Members of foreign branches attended the annual conferences as delegates (International Kindergarten Union, 1924). A photograph from the 1926 conference included delegates from Mexico.

Controversy Between Froebelian and Progressive Kindergarteners

By the time IKU was organized, school reform had already begun. The new school of scientific pedagogy was making an impact on public schools and it was inevitable that kindergarten educators would become involved.

The controversy between those who adhered to Froebelian principles and those who were more progressive was initiated at the annual IKU conference in Chicago in 1895. G. Stanley Hall addressed the "new psychology" in the opening address. Thirty-three of the 35 leading kindergarteners in attendance were offended by Hall's comments on the unsoundness of Froebel's methodology and left the meeting. The two who remained, Anna E. Bryan and Patty Smith Hill, became leaders in the progressive kindergarten movement (Snyder, 1972). For the remainder of the 1890s and into the first decades of the 1900s, the membership of the IKU struggled through their own resolution of the reconstruction of the kindergarten program.

Concerns about the kindergarten curriculum became the core of conference meetings. Interest in the meetings brought new membership and active participation at the conferences. Heated debates were held at the annual meetings about the use of symbolism, free play, the appropriate amount of teacher direction and the role of creative activity. With each succeeding year, the differences between liberals and conservatives escalated (Weber, 1964).

In 1895, a Child Study Committee was organized by IKU. Within committee reports and discussions at IKU meetings, liberals and conservatives debated their views (Smith, 1942). In 1903, a Committee of Fifteen was established to formulate a statement about contemporary thought. Expanded to the Committee of Nineteen, the committee members found it necessary to issue three reports in 1909: a liberal report, a conservative report and a report representing a moderate view. The three rewritten reports were published in book form (Committee of Nineteen, 1913).

Regardless of original positions, members of IKU were embracing the results of scientific research. Through continued reports, discussions, debates and exchanges of ideas, IKU played a leadership role in the continuous evolution of kindergarten programs.

Expansion of International Kindergarten Union

Songs for Delegates Day
(To the Tune of 'Over There')

Baltimore! Baltimore!
Here we are, here we are Baltimore!
East and West are humming,
North and South are coming,
The Kindergartners come from everywhere–
Baltimore! Baltimore!
We will share in your schools if we may,
We will work with you and play with you,
And we won't go back 'till you tell us we may stay.

World War I changed the focus of IKU. In 1918, the impact of a world war was addressed. A Committee of Nineteen was organized in connection with children in the war zones, with a subcommittee undertaking the task of protecting and serving America's children as well.

A kindergarten unit in France was established to serve refugee children in war zones and other areas affected by the war. The organization helped raise the funds needed to send Fanniebell Curtis, Kindergarten Director in New York City, to organize these kindergartens and a training school for teachers in France (International Kindergarten Union, 1924; Smith, 1942).

The Board met in Washington, D. C. for its Christmas session (1924). The usual business was completed on the last day of the year when the members returned to their homes with the exception of Miss Boyce and Miss Greenwood (Ella Ruth Boyce was President, 1924-25). They remained to make further investigations about selecting Headquarters for the organization and to attend the President's NewYear's Reception.

A heavy snowstorm New Year's Eve caused difficulties in getting about on New Year's morning. After going from place to place investigating "Headquarters" we suddenly realized time had slipped by and the closing hour for the White House reception was about to end. As there was no time to return to the hotel to get properly attired, to get a taxi, etc., we went as we were—galoshes and all—saying no one would notice us in the crowd, we walked bravely in to the strains of the Marine Band and found a single couple awaiting us, we thought this the advanced guard to take us to the President and Mrs. Coolidge. As we drew nearer, however, we realized we were having (to our amazement) a private reception with the President and his wife—the crowd had gone before—we were the last. But how gracious they were stepping out and remarking "How glad we are to see you—" "How good of you to come," etc. We were then ushered into the Blue Room where we found the crowd assembled. It was really quite a delightful experience, we were not made to feel humiliated in the least by being the last. We then went to our hotel, had luncheon, dressed, took a taxi and attended the reception in proper style given by Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Hoover. Here all the flowers, fruits, and the tempting viands on the tea table were from California so I, in particular, felt at home. – From a letter from Barbara Greenwood to Mary Leeper, Executive Secretary, May 19, 1941.

IKU continued to expand, taking an active interest in the issues of the day. The Committee on Child Study reviewed research about child growth and development and organized information about the use of tests with kindergarten children. A Literature Committee was appointed to compile a list of stories and poetry suitable for kindergarten and primary children. The first issue of the *Journal of Childhood Education* was published in 1924 "so as to give greater assistance to teachers of young children" (International Kindergarten Union, 1924, p. 2). This and subsequent publications were to increase the significant impact of the organization in the field of early childhood education.

At this convention (Minneapolis, 1924) I was elected President, and inherited a plan, endorsed by the delegate body, to develop an official journal. This was the outstanding achievement of my administration. I felt at the time that it was perhaps a case of rushing in where wiser folks might hesitate, but I still believe firmly that without such unconsidered rashness, little progress is made. We were fortunate in securing the cooperation of the publishing firm of Williams and Wilkins, who were really very generous in many respects. At least we must remember them gratefully in that they made the start possible.

We were unfortunate in securing the ill-will and rather amused contempt of the man in authority at Milton Bradley's. I made a personal trip to Springfield, Massachusetts, to confer with him, and hoped to get some cooperation. Perhaps the fact that I had a very black eye, caused by an automobile wreck, influenced him against what we were trying to do. At any rate, he thought we were a bunch of women with little knowledge of the publishing business, as no doubt we were, but he overlooked our vision. He promised to present our request for some cooperative action to the Board of his company, but I have never felt that it was adequately done. – From a letter from Ella Ruth Boyce to Mary Leeper, Executive Secretary (no date).

CHAPTER 3
A WORLD IN DEPRESSION AND WAR: 1930-1950

After the end of World War I, the United States had a decade of expansion and prosperity. Business prospered as new management and production techniques resulted in a rise in mass-produced consumer goods. The introduction of electricity into factories and rural areas brought progress that affected all categories of the economy. Corporation mergers resulted in even larger industries such as DuPont, General Electric and General Motors. The invention of the automobile revolutionized transportation, while radios and movies provided American people with common experiences and a shared culture. Shorter working hours increased the time available for leisure activities and the automobile made possible family excursions.

National advertising on the radio and in popular magazines, combined with installment plans for consumer credit, brought acquisition of new consumer products within the reach of the middle- and working-class populations. A new concept, shopping centers, offered a different type of shopping experience in suburban areas. Highway construction and gasoline production encouraged this as well as vacation trips.

Americans were not willing to share prosperity with all populations, however. Quotas were established to restrict immigration of undesirable people. Prejudice against Jewish groups spread through anti-Semitic efforts. The Klu Klux Klan harassed Blacks and immigrants who were Catholic or Jewish. Klan activities included nightriding, arson and other forms of intimidation.

Prohibition was legislated to control the use of alcohol, but any reduction was temporary. Liquor was smuggled successfully, allowing speakeasies and illegal saloons to flourish. New York City had an estimated 30,000 speakeasies during prohibition (Henretta et al., 1987).

When the stock market crashed in 1929, it touched off the Great Depression that would not end until the country was mobilized for the effort to win World War II. By 1932, more than 25 percent of the nation's workers were unemployed. Government initiatives under President Franklin Delano Roosevelt to provide relief for the unemployed restored the nation's confidence. At the same time, the New Deal resulted in an enlarged, bureaucratic government that set a precedent for the expectation of social and economic benefits through federal resources. During the 1930s, more than a third of the population received some type of government assistance, including farm loans, Social Security or government funded work programs. In spite of these government efforts, hardships of the Great Depression continued for more than a decade.

Depression meant hard times during mass unemployment. People who had been poor during the 1920s were joined by working-class and middle-class people who were out of work or worked at lower paying jobs that allowed them to subsist. Old people who lost their life savings when the banks failed shared hardship with the wealthy who lost all of their invested wealth in the stock market crash.

Farmers in the Great Plains suffered the effects of a severe drought during the same decade. The plains states were known as the Dust Bowl because of the extensive dust storms that decimated farms over a wide area. Farm families who lost their land migrated West where workers were still used in the fields. They found more migrant workers in California, however, than opportunities for employment. Wages were very low and, at best, only occasional employment became available. Discouraged by the lack of employment and the severe drought in the Midwest, many young people left their families and became boy and girl hoboes (Henretta et al., 1987; Reynolds, 1976).

The Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 had the same magnitude of effect on the United States as the crash of the stock market in 1929. The country entered a global war that ended the Great Depression and returned the nation to prosperity. The federal government expanded in size and influence as industrial resources were mobilized to produce goods, food and equipment for the war. Social changes

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT'S THOUGHTS ON THE GREAT DEPRESSION

This is pre-eminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly. Nor need we shrink from honestly facing conditions in our country today. The great nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper.

So first of all let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself--nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance.

In such a spirit on my part and on yours we face our common difficulties. They concern, thank God, only material things. Values have shrunken to fantastic levels, taxes have risen; our ability to pay has fallen, government of all kinds is faced by serious curtailment of income, the means of exchange are frozen in the currents of trade, the withered leaves of industrial enterprise lie on every side; farmers find no market for their produce, the savings of many years in thousands of families are gone. -- From Franklin Delano Roosevelt's First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1933. In Richard Hofstadter & Beatrice K. Hofstadter (Eds.), (1969). *Great issues in American history. Volume III* (p. 344). New York: Vintage Books.

DEPRESSION IN THE SOUTH

As the depression continued, waves of people roamed the country in search of work. Men left home, hoping to land jobs and then send for their wives and children. In other cases entire families packed up their automobiles and head west or north. Large tracts of land fell under the hammer of foreclosure, and banks, mortgage companies, life insurance companies, and other lenders took over the land. Hoover carts, made from automobile axles and tires and pulled by horses or mules, carried people about, for they were too poor to buy gasoline or license tags. Herbert Hoover, who had first earned international attention for organizing relief abroad and then ran the relief effort during the 1927 Mississippi River flood, watched helplessly as the economy unwound. Ultimately, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation loaned funds to corporations, but for the poor, Hoover had no imaginative program, no lifeline. Dispossessed, broken-spirited, and searching for jobs, many people hoped for economic recovery or for a leader who could offer a bold program. Until this time, in the minds of most people, government aid seemed alien, even socialistic, but as hard times continued, there was no other hope. Federal intrusion, so long feared, offered their only salvation. -- Pete Daniel. (1986). *Standing at the crossroads* (pp. 111-112). New York: Hill & Wang.

occurred as women took jobs in defense industries or took their families and followed their husbands to their assignment in the military forces. The labor movement strengthened its position because scarcity of workers and the growing demand for laborers allowed unions to negotiate for better pay and working conditions.

The United States also took a leadership role in international affairs. President Roosevelt worked with heads of state and other government leaders in planning wartime strategies. With final Allied victory in 1945, President Truman and the presidents who followed maintained a worldwide leadership position in the postwar reconstruction of Europe and Japan.

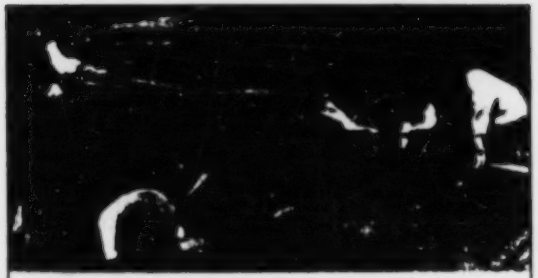
CHILDHOOD IN THE UNITED STATES: 1930-1950

Family Life and the American Culture During Depression and War

The decades of the 1930s and 1940s were years of coping, first with economic problems and then with the hardships of a nation at war. Both periods forced people to be resourceful and to modify their style of living. During the depression years, families tried to maintain their self-respect and keep their lives as normal as possible. The knowledge that the whole country was struggling with the economic downturn made it easier for families to retain their dignity and maintain hope for a better future.

Children often reacted less negatively than their parents to the downward mobility their family experienced. Although variation in their diet might have been more restricted, most children did not suffer severe food deprivation. Their parents may have worried or felt bitter about their economic situation, but children would remember those years as a happy time within the family unit.

While men felt more of a sense of loss from lack of employment or reduced wages, women learned to be creative in managing the home. Deflation had lowered



CHILDHOOD IN THE UNITED STATES: 1930-1950

I tried to kill a streetcar by overturning it.

Pin Ford and I were hiding under a purple beech tree on the lawn of the Presbyterian seminary on Penn Avenue.

Through the beech's low dense branches she and I could make out Penn Avenue's streetcar lanes. It was midafternoon. Now a streetcar was coming toward us. We had been waiting. We had just stuck a stone in the streetcar track. This one seemed like a stone big enough to throw it over. Would the streetcar go over? Did we hope it would go over? We spotted its jiggling trolley stick first, high above the roofs of a cobblestone, and its lone simple eye. I pressed a thumb and finger between ribs on both sides of my breastbone, to try to calm myself.

The streetcar hit the stone audibly and rose like a beached whale. Its big orange body faltered in the air, heaved toward the lane of cars beside it, trembled, and finally fell down on its track and broke the stone. And went on, bumping again only slightly when the rear wheel went over it. Pin Ford and I lay low. – Annie Dillard. (1987). *An American childhood* (pp. 105-106). New York: Harper & Row.

AN AMERICAN CHILDHOOD

It was your whole body that knew those sidewalks and streets. Your bones ached with them, you tasted their hot dust in your bleeding lip, their gravel worked into your palms and knees and stayed, blue under the new skin that grew over it.

You rode your bike across Penn Avenue with the light: a lane of asphalt, a sunken streetcar track just the width of a thin bike wheel, a few feet of brown cobblestones, another streetcar track, more cobblestones or some cement, more tracks, and another strip of asphalt. The old cobblestones were pale humpy ovals like loaves. When you rode your bike over them, you vibrated all over. A particularly long humpy cobblestone could knock you down in a twinkling if it caught your bike's front wheel. So could the streetcar's tracks, and they often did; your handlebars twisted in your hands and threw you like a wrestler. So you had to pay attention, alas, and could not simply coast along over cobblestones, blissfully vibrating all over. Now the city was replacing all the cobblestones, block by block. The cobblestones had come from Pittsburgh's riverbeds. In the nineteenth century, children had earned pennies by dragging them up from the water and selling them to paving contractors. They had been a great and late improvement on mud. – Annie Dillard. (1987). *An American childhood* (pp. 103-104). New York: Harper & Row.

the cost of food; nevertheless, mothers had to learn to stretch meat for meals or substitute inexpensive foods for items purchased in more affluent years. Clothing purchases and telephone use dropped sharply. Women did their own housework, sewed clothes at home and canned fruits and vegetables. Installment payments were used by some to maintain their standard of living.

Many women entered the labor market to supplement the family income. In some situations, there was resentment that women were taking jobs away from men. States passed laws prohibiting married women from employment. In the field of education, discrimination was frequently applied against the hiring of married women. Women were able to get clerical and sales jobs; however, they were paid lower wages than men. Although women played a major role in maintaining the family financially, their employment was concentrated in low-paying jobs with no opportunity for advancement.

Families made significant sacrifices of material goods, movies became a luxury for many, but the family automobile remained for limited outings. Family recreation, however, was one area of family life that was expanded during the 1930s. The federal government financed funds for the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) to build 20,000 construction projects that included stadiums, community centers and wading pools. Recreation leaders were trained and employed to expand existing recreation programs. The radio, outdoor community-sponsored activities, movies, magazines and books were other family leisure resources. Recreation continued to be viewed as a means for children to learn their place in society and to live a constructive life (Reynolds, 1976).

Conditions of Childhood

During the depression and war years, there was continuing concern for the plight of children, particularly children who were poor or handicapped. Federal efforts to improve conditions for children led to improvements in services provided for them and their families. New and expanded programs reflected the economic conditions of the period, as well as the displacement that resulted from a nation organized to fight a major war. In

spite of advances in information and services, particularly in health care, children of the poor continued to lag in receiving the benefits available to the population as a whole.

Improvements in Health Care and Services. The major advance in health care for children during this period was in the reduction of communicable disease. In the mid-1930s, the U.S. Public Health Survey of households in urban and rural communities found that 51 percent of all deaths of children were due to infections, parasitic disease, pneumonia, diarrhea and enteritis. The cause of the deaths was found to be due to lack of medical care or delay in seeking medical aid. In 1938, the Children's Bureau held the Conference on Better Care for Mothers and Babies which reported impairment of health was still widespread among mothers and children. Although the medical field had the knowledge available to prevent maternal and infant deaths, the needed services were not reaching many populations, particularly the poor, and those living in rural areas.

Another cause of poor health during the Great Depression was malnutrition among poor children. In 1932, the Health Department in New York City reported that 20 percent of the school children examined were suffering from malnutrition. As the economic crisis deepened, medical care for children decreased and undernutrition increased. In spite of many federal relief efforts, child health was neglected (Public Health Service, 1976).

Social Security Act of 1935. In 1934, the Children's Bureau proposed a broad program to meet the health and social needs of the nation's children. The following year, the Social Security Act was signed into law. It enabled a federal-state partnership to provide medical care for crippled children. Provisions were also included for the health of mothers and children, strengthened public child welfare services, protection and care of homeless, dependent and neglected children and children in danger of becoming delinquent. Each state was to define the crippling conditions it would attempt to treat: orthopedic conditions, conditions requiring plastic surgery, operable eye conditions, rheumatic fever and eye diseases (Public Health Service, 1976).

The Social Security Act also provided old-age pensions and, later, payments to surviving dependents, including wives and children. Another provision was for unemployment insurance funded through a federal tax paid by the employer. Benefits varied from state to state, and the limitation of unemployment insurance was that it failed to protect the chronically unemployed (Henretta et al., 1987).

Medical Care at Military Bases During WW II. As the country mobilized for World War II, a new need for health care arose at military bases. Because many wives followed their husbands who were being trained for compulsory military service, military establishments faced large numbers of wives seeking maternity care. The 1943 Congress, in response to this crisis, appropriated funds to initiate a new service, Emerging Maternity and Infant Care (EMIC), through the Children's Bureau that would provide medical care for wives and children of servicemen. The program was a cooperative effort that included the American Red Cross, Army and Navy relief societies and other public and private agencies. The program not only supported families during the war years of the 1940s, but led to the establishment of minimum standards for hospitals, maternity and newborn care. It also effected a significant drop in the national infant mortality rate (Public Health Service, 1976).

Foster Care. During WW II, the decrease in numbers of children needing foster care can be attributed to servicemen's dependency allowances, the increase of mothers employed in the defense effort and their ability to support themselves and their children, and the Lanham Act that expanded day care for children of working mothers. In contrast to the economic poverty caused by the Great Depression, World War II had some benefits for poor children. The reduction in children needing foster care was unfortunately short lived, and beginning in the mid-1940s, foster care rolls once again began to increase (Datta, 1976).

RURAL CHILDBIRTH

When a woman became pregnant, she usually had the support of her family and that of the community. In towns and cities, a doctor could easily be summoned to help in the delivery–if there was money to pay the doctor. Many physicians tended the poor, knowing that they would never receive any pay. Improved roads and the use of automobiles enabled doctors to cover more territory as well as permitting rural people to travel to town. Midwives, often called granny women, delivered many rural children. Few had any education or formal training, but most were savvy in special ways about delivery. They apprenticed themselves to other midwives, and the methods were traditional. As modern medicine introduced professionalism, granny women became rare. In some cases, midwives also prescribed potions that would induce abortion, but most women chose to bear their children. Although midwives had high status among the poor people of a community, many of the wealthy, including doctors, regarded them as nuisances. Once, a midwife, realizing that the delivery had become complicated, arrived at a small-town doctor's house after midnight to ask for help. She knocked for a quarter of an hour, and the doctor finally opened the door, cursed her, dallied about, and arrived after the infant had been born. Even in the 1950s midwives served poor blacks and whites who could not afford doctors. – Pete Daniel. (1986) *Standing at the crossroads* (pp. 85-86). New York: Hill & Wang.

BLACK BOY

Hunger stole upon me so slowly that at first I was not aware of what hunger really meant. Hunger had always been more or less at my elbow when I played, but now I began to wake up at night to find hunger standing at my bedside staring at me gauntly. The hunger I had known before this had been no grim, hostile stranger, it had been a normal hunger that had made me beg constantly for bread, and when I ate a crust or two I was satisfied. But this new hunger baffled me, scared me, made me angry and insistent. Whenever I begged for food now my mother would pour me a cup of tea which would still the clamor in my stomach for a moment or two, but a little later I would feel hunger nudging my ribs, twisting my empty guts until they ached. I would grow dizzy and my vision would dim. I became less active in my play, and for the first time in my life I had to pause and think of what was happening to me. – Richard Wright. (1937). *Black boy* (p. 13). New York: Harper & Brothers.

Conditions for Minority Children

The years of depression and war affected minority families in unique ways. Some groups were adversely affected; others received long overdue attention.

The problems of Native Americans and the extent of their poverty were a focus of concern during the 1930s. Native Americans had owned 138 million acres of land in the late 1880s but, by 1934, westward expansion, broken treaties and other events resulted in less than two-fifths of the original amount left, mostly in desert areas. The average Native American income totaled 48 dollars, and the

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unemployment rate was three times the national average. The federal government changed its policy of trying to integrate Native Americans into American society and began to focus attention on preserving Indian languages, arts, and their tribal heritage and history. More self-government was promoted through the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, but little progress was made in solving Native American economic problems.

Black Americans were not as affected by the economic crisis as some populations because they were already poor when the economic downturn occurred. More than 75 percent of the Black population lived in the South; the great majority were tenant farmers, farm hands and sharecroppers. Nevertheless, as many as 200,000 Black tenant farmers were displaced from farms during the depression years.

As a result of the economic conditions in the South, as well as the activities of southern conservatives and organizations such as the Klu Klux Klan against Blacks, large numbers left for the North in the 1930s. About 400,000 Blacks moved to northern cities where they encountered racial segregation, excessive rents, high unemployment and crowded living conditions. In March 1935, the frustrations experienced by Blacks resulted in a major race riot in Harlem.

Blacks sought to strengthen their position through labor organizations. Activism expanded with the outbreak of World War II as Black workers protested their exclusion from defense plants. President Roosevelt established a fair employment practices policy that prohibited discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or the government. As Blacks migrated to defense centers seeking employment, social tensions increased. A race riot in Detroit in 1943 left 34 people dead, and was followed by racial conflicts in 43 cities (Henretta et al., 1987).

Japanese Americans were put into an unfortunate situation during WW II. West Coast residents became afraid of a Japanese attack after Pearl Harbor. Reacting to their fears of Japanese spies, President Roosevelt approved a War Department plan to intern Japanese Americans in relocation camps during the war. Although more than two-thirds of the Japanese affected were native-born Americans of Japanese ancestry, approximately 112,000 people were relocated in remote areas in California, Arizona, Utah, Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho and Arkansas. They were given a few days to sell or dispose of their possessions and could take with them only what they could carry.

> All ten camps were located in hot, dusty climates, and their primitive conditions made family life nearly impossible. Communal bathroom and dining facilities undermined morale even more. The lack of privacy was hardest to bear; only flimsy partitions separated the hastily built rooms. When one baby cried, babies cried up and down the barracks. Eight people lived in a room that measured only twenty-five by twenty feet. Small families might have strangers assigned to their room. Generational differences between the Issei, who had an average of fifty-five, and the Nisei, who averaged seventeen years old, added to the tensions. Everyone found boredom a major problem. (Henretta et al., 1987, p. 820)

Because Japanese Americans had been important in agriculture, a labor shortage in farming led the government to furlough farm workers. College students were allowed to leave to resume their studies; and young men also volunteered for military service in Europe (Wishon & Spangler, 1990).

> Before evacuation, I was the only Japanese in the whole school for about two years. I had been going to that school since kindergarten. When the attack was made on Pearl Harbor the people, especially the boys, called me bad names. Even though the boys called me names, the girls tried to help me. When evacuation time came, someway I did not want to go, but I had to. I didn't want to leave even if the people called me names. I had two dogs named Mike and Kiltie. They were Scotties. I did not want to leave them, but everything else that I liked besides my parents was left behind.
>
> When we left, I kept my eyes open to look at the city where I had always lived, and which I might never see again. Living with Japanese around is strange to me, for all I knew about were Americans. I do not want to go to Japan for all the money in the World because I like the United States. – Wanda Robertson. (1943). Developing world citizens in a Japanese relocation center. *Childhood Education, 20,* 66-71.

What of Hispanic families? Poorly educated and hampered by language difficulties, Hispanic populations were poorer than mainstream populations. The depression years were hard for them.

Migrant labor became a way of life for many Hispanic families, both American and Mexican citizens. Families in the Southwest followed the crops each year, moving to Michigan and other northern states in the summer and working in Texas, California and Florida during the winter months. Living conditions were primitive. Children worked alongside adults from dawn to dusk; babies were left unattended while the families worked in the fields. Children attended school infrequently and became school dropouts by the time they were teenagers. Many young men enlisted in the armed services during World War II. Efforts to improve conditions for migrant workers and provide better education for migrant children did not become a reality until after the end of the war. The problems of migrant workers, however, continue to handicap them economically and educationally. Mechanization of crop harvesting has increasingly limited opportunity for migrant employment each year since the 1940s.

> Any morning between seven and eight o'clock on a day when the weather is suitable for field work the labor contractor may be seen in the communities of agricultural workers with his large produce truck, assembling his crew of field workers from among his own family, his relatives and his neighbors. Infants who cannot yet walk are taken along because there is no one at home to care for them. Little children six and seven years old

go along to run errands in the fields and gradually learn to work. – Amber Arthun Warburton. (1944). Children who work. *Childhood Education 20*, 221-226.

CHILDHOOD EDUCATION: COPING WITH DEPRESSION AND WAR

Expansion of American Education

American education grew rapidly in the 1930s. In spite of lower birthrates during depression years, compulsory attendance laws and expansion of consolidated school districts contributed to the increase in school attendance. In 1930, secondary school enrollments numbered 4,812,000, increasing to 7,100,000 in 1940 (Cremin, 1988).

As school districts continued to consolidate, they developed the resources to provide improved programs. School buses that first appeared in the 1920s were used in increasing numbers to transport students from rural areas. Attention was given to vocational programs at the secondary school level for those students who would be unable to attend college and needed job preparation. Centralization was also reflected in the work of the state departments of education that sponsored conferences and institutes, as well as the publication of curricula and instructional materials to disseminate current information on pedagogy to school districts.

The federal government was also concerned with the problems of poor youth. Because the government was suspicious of educational leaders, it did not turn to the schools to assist with youth training and unemployment; rather, the Civilian Conservation Corps and National Youth Administration were the vehicles used to employ and train these youth. The CCC provided work on conservation projects for young men between the ages of 18 and 25. In addition to earning money for themselves and their families, they learned social skills and standards of hygiene. More important, libraries were established in the camps and educational programs were offered to the workers. According to Cremin (1988), by June 1937, 35,000 illiterate young men had been taught to read and write, more than 1,000 had earned high school diplomas and 39 had received college degrees. Vocational training had also been provided in such occupations as carpentry, woodworking, boilermaking and metalwork. In the later years of the program, an extensive guidance program was established to help the men plan personal and vocational goals.

Progress in Child Study

Expanding child study research centers broadened the research in child development between 1930 and the 1950s. Research efforts were supported and advanced with the establishment of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, the Society for Research in Child Development in 1933 and the Institute for Child Study at the University of Maryland in 1947 (Weber, 1984).

During the 1930s, new directions were taken in child study. As a result of research techniques that included interviews, observation and statistical analysis, family influences on child development could be investigated. Research indicated correlations between the family's socioeconomic level and the child's growth and development. In other words, it was apparent that the family's status determined both the parents' methods of childrearing and the goals and expectations that they held for their children. Kurt Lewin at the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station used sociological research techniques within a field theory framework to determine how the total environment affected child development and behavior. His findings were that there was a dynamic influence between the child and interaction with the total environment (Grotberg, 1976).

In the 1940s, the research focus moved to the study of personality development. Freudian psychology was to have a strong influence on child study; as a result, the relationship between experience and personality development was studied with particular attention to the effects of deprivation and institutionalization on later development. Much of the intent of the research was to remove the adverse conditions that would negatively affect development. Maternal deprivation studies showed subsequent mental retardation in infants and young children. Deprivation could contribute also to failure to thrive and a high child mortality rate. The role of culture in child development was also investigated. Studies of American subcultures and other cultures provided information on how cultural experiences affected child development.

Information from research had a strong influence on childrearing and educational practices in the 1930s and 1940s, particularly in early childhood education. Developmental theories and child study research, initiated in the 1920s, continued to have an impact on education during an era of progressive influence. The work of Gesell along with the maturation theory permeated educational practices, as well as Thorndike's stimulus-response theory, measurement of intelligence and the widespread use of testing in the schools.

Gesell's work in establishing developmental norms and the normative view of development had a pervasive influence on child study investigation and educational practice. The view that development must precede acquisition of skills, and readiness for learning rested upon developmental maturation, guided the planning for curriculum and instruction, not only in the early years of schooling, but in later childhood education as well.

Thorndike had his own understanding of the concept of readiness. His laws of learning were based on the connections established between the child's experiences and the external responses to the child's behaviors. Readiness for learning was established through positive attitudes developed as a result of satisfactory experiences. Through the modification of the child's responses, the laws of learning were meant to govern educational practice (Weber, 1984).

The Spreading Use of Standardized Tests

Thorndike also believed in the concept of a fixed intelligence. He built upon the work of Binet and Simon in France and L.M. Terman at Stanford University in the establishment of an intelligence quotient or IQ. Thorndike contributed to the expansion of the testing movement by adapting the measurement scale to measure achievement in arithmetic, spelling, reading and language ability.

The testing movement's influence began in the 1920s and expanded in the 1930s. It served as a major factor in the standardization of the schools as achievement tests were used for measuring achievement, grouping students and developing a standardized curriculum. Research was conducted on what children should and could learn and at what level. Homogeneous grouping based on achievement test results was intended to make both teaching and learning more effective (Snyder, 1972).

Although the goal of testing was to determine appropriate instructional strategies for students at a given time, it also had negative results. Tests for grouping children also came to be used as a tool to classify them. IQ tests and achievement test results were also used to place students into programs that could deny them access to a college track curriculum at the secondary level. Disagreement over the use of tests and misuse of their results led to sharp divisions among educators during the 1930s and 1940s which continue to plague American schools and educators in the 1990s.

Progressive Education

The influence of progressive educators in reforming schools in the 1920s was more widespread in the decades of the 1930s and 1940s. Progressive teaching methods had been adopted by significant numbers of schools and teachers at different levels of implementation. Moreover, the progressive movement had extended beyond the United States to Europe, the British Commonwealth and parts of Asia and South America after books by Dewey and Kilpatrick had been translated into other languages.

After WW II, progressive education had become generally accepted as the American model of education. Indeed, the accomplishments of the movement in the decades of implementation and expansion were impressive.

1. There was a steady extension of educational opportunity, downward as well as upward. A greater percentage of the population continued into the high schools, while kindergartens and nursery schools also flourished as the number of working women rose.
2. Numbers of school systems shifted from an eight-year elementary school followed by a four-year high school to a six-year elementary school followed by a three-year junior high school and then a three-year senior high school, partly to give greater attention to the special requirements of pubescent children.
3. There was a continuing expansion and reorganization of the curriculum at all levels, and frequently in directions advocated by the progressives. In the secondary schools in particular there were vastly extended opportunities for work in trades, agriculture, home economics, physical education, and the arts.
4. Along with the proliferation and reorganization of the formal curriculum, there came a concomitant expansion of extracurricular–or as the progressives called them to emphasize their integral part in the school program, "cocurricular"–activities. The informal student clubs and activities that had been radical innovations at the turn of the century became established features of the American school.
5. There was infinitely more variation and flexibility in the grouping of students, most commonly on the basis of intelligence and achievement tests. In addition, as districts consolidated and schools became larger, guidance programs developed in an effort to take account of the varying needs and concerns of individual youngsters.
6. The character of the classroom changed markedly, especially at the elementary level, as projects began to compete with recitations as standard pedagogical procedure. Students and teachers alike tended to be more active, more mobile, and more informal in their relationships with one another.
7. The materials of instruction changed dramatically as those who prepared them sought to incorporate the latest research on learning and child development. Textbooks became more colorful and attractive, and supplementary devices like flash cards, workbooks, simulated newspapers, slides, filmstrips, and phonograph records were used in growing numbers. In addition there were innumerable attempts to employ indigenous materials, ranging from local flora and fauna to locally manufactured products, in the course of instruction.
8. School architecture was modified to take account of the new developments, thereby lending them a measure of permanence. Assembly rooms, gymnasiums, swimming pools, playgrounds, athletic fields, laboratories, shops, kitchens, cafeterias, and infirmaries; miniature tables and chairs; movable furniture and partitions, improved lighting and ventilation–all testified eloquently to the changing programs and commitment of the school.
9. Teachers were better educated; and by virtue of state certification requirements, their programs of preparation–both preservice and inservice–increasingly included professional courses that tended to reflect one or another of the versions of progressive education.
10. Finally, administrative relationships changed, if somewhat paradoxically. As schools and school systems became larger, bureaucracy increased; school administration became a separate professional function rather than a responsibility of the senior teachers. At the same time teachers were allowed a somewhat greater role in the determination of curriculum, while parents exercised a measure of influence through parent and parent-teacher associations. At few points did school boards or administrators relinquish important powers; nonetheless, there was perceptible growth of parent and teacher participation in policymaking (Cremin, 1961, pp. 306-308)

Experimentation with progressive methods had extended also to higher education after World War II. There was examination of the merits of a liberal education and how to humanize and integrate knowledge through instruction. More than 100 reform efforts had been initiated in higher education curriculum (Cremin, 1961).

RADIO: PIED PIPER OR EDUCATOR?
Few topics of interest to parents and teachers of young children have aroused so much controversy as the question whether children's radio programs are an instrument of exploitation, a form of harmless entertainment, or a means for the development of a greater appreciation of life. Judging by those expressions of opinion which are found in published sources, the majority of commentators incline to the view that radio has at least failed to play a significantly beneficial part in the education of children. Even commercial observers have deplored what they regard as the poor business sense exhibited by sponsors of allegedly objectionable children's programs. "Into the ears of defenseless children," asserts Don Gridley in Printer's Ink for April 9, 1936, "there were poured the moans and shrieks of dying men and women, the sharp, menacing rattle of the machine guns, the language of the gutter and all the other ingredients of the hair-raising thriller." – John J. DeBoer. (1939). Radio: Pied piper or educator? *Childhood Education 16*, 74-79.

Reappraisal of Progressive Education

> There are two groups who make it difficult for the inquiring individual to get an adequate picture of progressive education. The more dangerous group consists of those who call themselves progressive who attempt to "put over" progressive education in the form of an activity program. They take inordinately rapid strides; they countenance, and perhaps even boast of, an utter lack of discipline; and they disregard the skills and controls so necessary for effective self-direction. The other group consists of those reactionary critics who use such extreme practices as the target for their witticisms and damaging statements. This is characteristic of the prevailing tendency to establish the extreme as the norm—always unfair and confusing. The great majority of really progressive developments have crept in and have been accepted as part of a slower growth process which moves in closer harmony with the nature of man. The critics conscientiously avoid mention of these developments, and the pseudo-progressives reject the slower but psychologically sound methods which are essential for growth. – Alice V. Keliher. (1935). What about progressive education? *Childhood Education, 11*, 243.

Not all schools followed Dewey's progressive ideas. The influence of the testing movement had led many schools to implement curriculum and teaching methods that were compatible with achievement and intelligence test results. The two schools of thought on what was the best education for students gained advocates and followers in the decades of educational improvement in the 1930s and 1940s.

Progressive schools were colorful and were designed and arranged to be conducive to creativeness. Model schools such as Lincoln School (established through Teachers College), Porter School (a model rural school in Missouri) and the public schools in Winnetka, Illinois, had all paved the way for progressive education in the various settings (Cremin, 1961).

Standardization of education through the use of advances in science and technology was seen by those in the testing movement to be the route of school improvement. Research to determine what all children should learn and at what grade level led to attempts to revitalize the curriculum through careful design and selection of curriculum.

While both movements had their supporters, both created concern and critics. The schools' use of standardized test results for grouping, placement and development of a standardized curriculum generated a great deal of concern, particularly the misuse of testing results for placing and teaching students.

Despite apparent successes in the progressive movement after WW II, a crisis over progressive methods was beginning to appear in the press. Much earlier, Professor George S. Counts had expressed concern that progressive schools were not bearing the responsibility to build a better social order. He anticipated the disaster of the depression years and challenged the schools to address the relationship between schools and society (Cremin, 1961).

In the 1940s, although progressive methods such as group work, field trips and project activities were common teaching practices, most teachers used teacher-directed instructional approaches. In addition, some progressive strategies had been taken out of the context within which they had originally been intended to be taught. In *Experience and Education* (1938), Dewey discussed some of his disappointments with how his theory was implemented in progressive methods (Cremin, 1988). The use of activities to make subject matter more concrete, for example, now rapidly became a substitute for academic knowledge. In another major shift, the original intent to give students an appreciation of industrial society now became the path for vocational education. The push for vocational education was to become the focus of the most critical attacks on progressive education.

The Vocational Education Division of the United States Office of Education studied the problems of high school students in 1944. Because the study revealed that many high school students were served neither by college preparatory nor vocational programs, a series of conferences was called to address the failure of secondary schools to address the life-adjustment problems of a majority of their students. A Commission of Life Adjustment Education for Youth was created to translate the thesis of progressive education into programs that would provide a universal secondary education to prepare all youth to live in a society that must utilize scientific discoveries (Cremin, 1961).

The life adjustment curriculum came under early and strong attack by critics of

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the progressive movement; moreover, the progressive movement in general came under broad attack. Following World War II, pressures of money, the threat of communism, teacher shortages and booming enrollments placed schools in a crisis situation. Schools were criticized for misplacing priorities in education, coddling students and not preparing them for the manpower needs of the rapidly changing and expanding industrial economy. Critics made sweeping indictments of public education that were counterattacked by the progressives.

When the Russians launched the first space satellite in 1957, it served as a catalyst for educational reform and the end of the progressive movement. Progressive education quickly collapsed, partly because it had not continued to adapt to the changes in American society. Economic changes, continued advances in mass media and extension of industry-sponsored educational programs had moved into new approaches to instruction and the progressive movement had not kept pace (Cremin, 1961). The 1950s marked a period of vast changes in education as the country and American education sought to meet the new challenges of the Cold War era.

Minority Education

If public schools, in general, were hampered by the years of depression poverty, followed by shortages resulting from the war effort, education of minorities was hit even harder. A reality for many decades, resources for schools for White students contrasted sharply with monies available for minority schools; but the 1930s and 1940s saw even deeper differences in funding as financial cuts were made.

Schools for Black Children. Black students continued to be educated in separate schools. Although the concept of separate but equal schools had never been a reality, Black families in the South found themselves having to fund schooling for their children even before the depression years. In the 1920s, public school funds for Black children were regularly diverted to White schools. Black taxpayers found it necessary to raise money for schools for Black children in addition to paying school taxes in the community.

Southern Whites had little motivation to provide schooling for Blacks. In an agrarian rural society, Black children were seen primarily as a source of labor. Education of Black children was regarded as a distraction for their potential cheap labor source by White landowners. Public school funds were unavailable not only for construction of school buildings for Black students, but also for other services related to schooling. Transportation provided for White students was withheld from Black children, forcing them to walk to school. School maintenance, supplies and teaching materials had to be provided by parents and teachers.

When the Black migration from the South resulted in a loss of Black laborers after 1910, efforts were made to establish an improved Black school system to stop the exodus. Black citizens engaged in grassroots efforts to build better schools for their children. Moreover, philanthropic contributions, including the Negro Rural School Fund and, more significantly, the Julius Rosenwald Fund, also made it possible for the construction of rural Black schools in southern states. Because Rosenwald funds required local matching resources, Black parents and community leaders had to raise money locally and volunteer their time to supplement the financial support available to them. A frequent method was for children to solicit small amounts of cash in a community drive. Another resource was Black landowners who donated lumber for the school cut from trees on their own property. Parents also volunteered to construct school buildings.

These efforts were very successful. By 1927, the Julius Rosenwald Fund had assisted in the construction of 3,769 school buildings in 14 southern states (Anderson, 1988). At the same time, White landowners also began to return a larger share of public tax funds for rural Black schools because of their growing concern over the continued migration North of Black tenants, laborers, sharecroppers and domestic servants.

As the Great Depression evolved in the 1930s, Blacks were already among the nation's poorest and found it impossible to continue raising the money to support schools for their children. School construction, maintenance and funds for school operation declined, both from lack of continued funding of the Rosenwald school program and economic destitution at the local level. Nevertheless, efforts for a Black school system in the South had resulted in a more developed elementary school system for the children. School enrollment and attendance increased dramatically. By 1935, enough elementary schools had been built to enroll the majority of Black children. By 1940, 66 percent of Black children and 65 percent of White children in southern states between the ages of 5 and 9 were enrolled in school (Anderson, 1988). The Black schools were grossly inadequate when compared to schools for White students, but opportunities for schooling were now available where, previously, none existed.

Schools for Japanese Children in Internment Camps. In March 1942, three months after the United States entered World War II, President Roosevelt established the War Relocation Authority that ordered the relocation of people of Japanese ancestry who lived on the west coast to 10 internment camps. Of the approximately 112,000 Japanese Americans relocated, more than 30,000 were children under the age of 15.

Although each camp had established a school system by the summer of 1942, the hastily constructed barracks and other buildings had not included plans for schooling. As a result, the schools opened in barracks buildings with no school furniture, materials, supplies or books. Few qualified teachers were available initially; therefore, former Japanese-American college students were used as

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assistant teachers who worked under the supervision of Caucasian teachers. Eventually the needed supplies, equipment and furniture were made available and instruction for the students improved (Wishon & Spangler, 1990).

Schools for Native American Children. Little attention was given to the plight of Native American children prior to the end of World War II. Although the National Council of American Indians lobbied for better conditions during the 1940s, little changed until the Civil Rights movement in the 1960s and 1970s. Young Native American children attended schools on the reservation for the first years of schooling, a system that had been established prior to the turn of the century. They then attended boarding schools off of the reservation for the remainder of elementary and secondary education. The adjustment to a different culture away from the security of home was difficult for most students. A teacher, Mrs. Chumbley Zeir, who wrote about the curriculum being used at one Indian school, provided information about the educational practices used with Native American students.

> We have about one hundred and forty pupils in our school and have five teachers. The children spend one year in the kindergarten; after they have finished the first grade, they go away, usually to non-reservation schools. The children come from non-English speaking homes and are named when they enter school. The children are brought to school in the fall and live in dormitories. During the first few months of school the smaller children are prone to run away from school. (Zeir, 1933, P. 80)

At the end of World War II, the nation focused on a return to a postwar economy and culture. The practice of separate or unequal schools for Blacks, Hispanics, Native Americans and Asian Americans continued, but would shortly be challenged. The economic opportunities and experiences of military service in the war had altered the expectations of minority groups for education, employment and full recognition as members of the community. Criticism of discrimination because of race, religion or other factors gained national attention. President Truman's Commission on Higher Education proposed that the nation's economy required that educational opportunity be broadened to include large numbers of Americans who were currently denied higher education because of race, class, gender and national origin. In 1946, 17 states still required separate schools for Whites and Blacks by law; moreover, separate schools for Blacks were operating in other states contrary to state law.

The Committee on Civil Rights reported patterns of discrimination of long standing against Jews, Roman Catholics, Blacks, Native Americans and persons of Hispanic, Filipino and Asian descent. The report described discrimination in employment, housing, health and education and disclosed that Blacks in the 17 states with legally separate schools were particularly disadvantaged in the quality of education available. The difference in educational attainment between Blacks and Whites, however, was also significant in the North and West. In 1948, President Truman called for legislation prohibiting lynching, outlawing the poll tax and establishing commissions for fair employment practices and civil rights to protect minorities against discrimination. Although Congress did not immediately respond, the Brown court decision in 1954 and 1955 paved the way for the end of separate systems of schooling and other forms of discrimination in the 1950s and 1960s.

EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION: PROVIDING EDUCATION AND CARE DURING DEPRESSION AND WAR

The decades of depression and war had significant effects on the field of early childhood education. Kindergartens that had experienced constant growth within public school systems were faced with budget cuts when public school systems felt the economic consequences of the Great Depression. Conversely, the nursery school and child care movement experienced tremendous growth as federal government efforts to provide work included WPA nursery schools to make possible employment for teachers and care for children of working mothers. Similar funding during World War II enabled parents to work in industries that were part of the war effort.

Educational trends of the period impacted curriculum development in early childhood programs, but at the same time fostered controversy and conflict. The decades of the 1930s and 1940s were a period of growth and uncertainty in teaching methods as teachers in various kinds of settings attempted to sort out the implications for practice of various psychological theories of growth and development, learning and measurement and testing.

Influence of Research in Child Growth and Development on Early Childhood Education

Arnold Gesell's Maturational Theory. The child study movement continued to have an influence on early childhood education. Arnold Gesell's ongoing work in child development was based on his theory of maturation and the natural unfolding of the child. Early childhood specialists found Gesell's ideas of the relationship between development and learning sensible in terms of planning curriculum for young children. The concepts of maturation and readiness were widely discussed in textbooks of the period for kindergarten teachers.

Although Gesell exerted a strong influence, he was not without critics. The description of the average child and curriculum constructed according to normative data generated concern because of the lack of attention to individual differences. In addition, his use of the children of students and professors at Yale to establish norms was criticized because the influence of environment on children from

diverse populations was not considered. In spite of these concerns, Gesell's impact on early childhood curriculum continued for several decades.

Behaviorism and the Measurement Movement. Thorndike's study of the laws of learning and ideas of connectionism proposed that the young child was modifiable. Stimulus and response could be used by the teacher to form appropriate behaviors. Thorndike believed that kindergarten was the place for good habits to be formed in young children, specifically habits of obedience, cheerfulness, self-help, courage and modesty.

Patty Smith Hill demonstrated Thorndike's influence while teaching at Teachers College, Columbia University. She and her students and classroom teachers used an inventory of behaviors or habits that was later followed by a "conduct curriculum" that included the need to measure results of learning (Snyder, 1972). Hill not only believed that early childhood included the primary years, but also extended downward from kindergarten. As an early supporter of nursery education, she included the conduct curriculum for nursery school experiences. Although Hill's reconstructed kindergarten curriculum and curriculum for 1st grade reflected Thorndike's views, she was also influenced by John Dewey. Her writing and work reflected both elements of progressive education, but the inclusion of lists of objectives and suggestions for measurement reflected a need for more specificity in children's learning (Weber, 1984).

Dewey's Progressivism in Early Childhood Education. Dewey's beliefs and suggestions for progressive education perhaps had their greatest influence in the years between 1930 and the late 1950s. Application of his principles of purposeful activities in the learning process and the classroom as a small community extended into kindergarten curriculum practices in the 1930s and 1940s. Dewey shared an understanding of how the child learns with Piaget's beliefs that became more familiar in the 1950s. He, too, proposed that the child was an actively learning being. Interaction with materials in the environment fostered learning by doing. Interaction also meant involvement with the world of ideas. Learning must be meaningful and include problem-solving. In *Experience and Education* (1936), Dewey discussed the importance of the quality of experience:

> Everything depends on the quality of the experience which is had. The quality of any experience has two aspects. There is an immediate aspect of agreeableness or disagreeableness, and there is its influence on later experiences. The effect of an experience is not born on its face. It sets a problem to the educator. It is his business to arrange for the kind of experiences which, while they do not repel the student, but rather engage his activities are, nevertheless, more than immediately enjoyable since they promote having desirable future experiences. (p. 16)

At the University of Chicago, Alice Temple had a primary role in translating Dewey's influence into early childhood education. She first came into contact with Dewey through her experiences as a teacher and principal at the Chicago Free Kindergarten Association where she participated in Anna Bryan's design of new kindergarten procedures to replace Froebelian methods. In 1929, Temple was chairman of the kindergarten-primary department at the University of Chicago; and, although Dewey had left for Columbia University, she continued his legacy that preschool and primary grades should be combined.

Teachers at the Laboratory School established by Dewey continued to teach following his educational convictions. From them, she was able to collect materials and activities that demonstrated his methods for kindergarten (Weber, 1984). Dewey's theories of learning were described in *Unified Kindergarten* and *First-Grade Teaching* (Parker & Temple, 1925) with their practical application in the physical environment, class organization, curriculum design and learning activities. The Parker and Temple text also showed the influence of the testing movement; nonetheless, the majority of information in the text was an advocacy of Dewey's emphasis on child-centered instruction (Snyder, 1972). This and other publications guided kindergarten and primary teachers in their teaching methods in the decades to follow.

Psychoanalysis in Early Childhood Education. While kindergartens of the 1930s and 1940s reflected Dewey's principles of education and Thorndike's habit formation resulting from connectionism, Freudian psychology was also affecting the direction of the nursery school movement. Norms established for 4-year-olds by Gesell and related to motor development, personal habits and adaptive behavior were included in nursery school procedures, as was habit formation through techniques of conditioning behavior. Nevertheless, sound emotional development based on aspects of psychoanalytical thinking had its own influence on preschool or nursery education in both the United States and England.

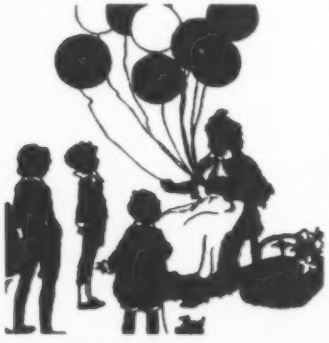
Within Freud's stages of personality development, the period of early childhood was significant. Freud spent little time working with young children; however, emotional factors as an important aspect of child development became a concept in nursery education. The child's sense of security, the dangers of too rigid an emphasis on habit-building and the importance of expressive play influenced nursery school curriculum development and, to a lesser extent, the kindergarten.

Lawrence Frank and Child Care. If Patty Smith Hill and Alice Temple were primary interpreters and translators of progressive theory into practice in early childhood education, Lawrence Frank modified Freud's theory of personality development for child care and nursery education. Through the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, Frank was able to study the child's affective development and how early childhood was important in providing the best climate for the child's emotional growth.

Frank's goal through the child study institutes was to learn about the child's development and how the studies could explain the importance of the child's struggles in emotional development. The information gained from his studies could be used to improve nursery education and care of preschool children. Frank disseminated his views as a neo-Freudian through lectures and articles. He

discussed emotional development in terms of the child's needs and the process of socialization. He proposed that, if children were given affection and were accepted as having individual temperaments in the early years, they could become well-adjusted adults. Frank believed that individual children had different emotional needs. Child caregivers and nursery school teachers needed to address children's emotional problems in early childhood to include sibling rivalry, fears, controlling emotions and accepting authority. Patience and reassurance by parents and teachers would help promote healthy personalities in young children.

In addition to working with Freud's ideas on personality development, Frank also was an early advocate of the theories of Jean Piaget and of the role of play. For Frank, the study and observation of play was a vehicle for understanding the child's development and social adjustment (Weber, 1984).



Overlapping Movements in Early Childhood Education

The late 19th century and early decades of the 20th century were the seminal years for the establishment of the field of early childhood education. Kindergarten, day nurseries and nursery schools were described as different movements in the 19th century. In reality, as these various programs were implemented, they were commingled and influenced each other. A broad spectrum of the population was involved in the education and care of young children during this period, representing churches, philanthropic agencies, parent groups, public school personnel, college and university researchers and teachers. Each of these groups serving young children was influenced by resources and methods being developed by the other groups with whom they had contact.

The philanthropic, religious and club or organizational groups, concerned with immigrant, orphaned or neglected children, became known as the "child savers" (Cooper, 1893; Cremin, 1988). They sought to save these poor children through education, parent training, playground development, day care and recreational programs. Accordingly, kindergartens, nursery schools, day nurseries, parent training and visitation were all implemented by churches, settlement houses and women's clubs. These groups were influenced by Froebelian kindergartens, the Macmillan Nursery school movement, the child study work at universities and philanthropic research organizations such as the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial. Frequently these programs operated side-by-side in a cooperative manner in a single building (Cremin, 1988).

The concept of providing child care for working parents was a motivation for some child savers from the middle of the 19th century. The separation of education from care was difficult to delineate in many settings in the early years of program development because services and programs overlapped. Children attending a kindergarten might go to a day nursery in a settlement house in the afternoons. Younger children might accompany a sibling to a nursery school or kindergarten program. A kindergarten might in reality provide all-day care as an extension of the educational program.

Neugebauer (1990) listed 50 of the nation's oldest child care programs that were established between 1835 and 1911. Some of the organizations providing continuous services from the year of organization to the present include the St. Vincent Home, Philadelphia (1854); Golden Gate Kindergarten Association, San Francisco (1879); Bethlehem Day Nursery, New York (1885); Salvation Army Day Care Center, Philadelphia (1892); Jenkintown Day Nursery, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania (1903); and Childhaven, Seattle (1909).

By the advent of the 1930s, the progressive movement and child study movement were affecting the field of early childhood education in all its many programs and settings. Nursery schools reflected the work of laboratory schools and child study research. At the same time, public schools concurrently reflected the establishment of developmental norms, evaluation of learning through achievement testing and pedagogical practices following Dewey's democratic principles.

Philanthropic schools were declining in number as social services and federal funding for poor families allowed more low-income mothers to remain in the home to care for their children. Economic conditions in the 1930s and 1940s, to the contrary, resulted in expansion of early childhood education, especially in the area of child care, to alleviate parental need for a place for their children as they worked during depression and war.

Decline of Kindergartens. As a result of cuts in public school budgets during the depression, kindergarten classrooms were discontinued or combined with large enrollments. A low priority was given to kindergartens in contrast to primary classrooms. Although financial conditions were undoubtedly a major cause for the decline, other forces also impacted on the loss of influence for the continued growth of kindergartens (Weber, 1969).

One cause for the loss of influence was the end of "child savers" in kindergarten programs. During the peak years of growth in the kindergarten movement before 1930, there was lively interest in kindergartens on the part of nonprofessionals. Lay people from various walks of life became interested in the kindergarten and its potential for alleviating the hardships of poor children and their families. Kindergartens in nonpublic school settings were staffed by teachers from many backgrounds; however, philanthropic kindergartens decreased as public school programs expanded. Simultaneously, professional training for kindergarten teachers at colleges and universities and limited manuscripts about kindergarten in professional journals further divided professionals from the community.

With the loss of broad public interest and support, the kindergarten was more frequently perceived as a downward extension of the public school. The kindergarten curriculum had become rigid; further, kindergarten teachers and

leaders were communicating with each other instead of with the nursery school and elementary grade teachers and administrators. Because of the lack of dialogue, kindergartens became the recipients of change instead of innovative leaders.

The decrease in the perceived importance of the kindergarten evoked an expansion in the influence of the elementary school on kindergarten curriculum. Kindergarten as preparation for 1st grade became the perception of primary teachers and school administrators. The maturation theory, concepts of school readiness, connectionism, habit formation and measurable learning all gradually modified kindergarten curriculum to conform to the expectations of elementary teachers and principals that children acquire "readiness" for 1st grade. Reading readiness, workbooks and testing in kindergarten vied with principles of child development in teaching practices. The kindergarten teacher struggled to resolve the conflict between active learning, learning centers with concrete materials, and project or theme studies with formalized instruction for preparation for academic learning. Then, as in future decades, practice probably reflected a range of teaching methods as teachers sought to determine which influences to accept and use in their classroom. Historical events in the 1950s that ended the progressive era would pave the way for renewed interest in early childhood education and new efforts to find the best way to facilitate learning in the early childhood years.

Expansion of Nursery Schools. Although the emergency triggered by the collapse of the stock market in 1929 lowered the priority for kindergartens in public school systems, it had the opposite effect on nursery schools. When the federal government took action to facilitate income for families through women entering the workforce, the provision of federally funded child care through nursery schools was the vehicle used to achieve their objective. This effort added to the number of nursery schools that had already been established during their rapid growth in the 1920s.

At this point, it is necessary to differentiate between nursery schools and day nurseries. Day nurseries had as their primary purpose to provide custodial care for children of the poor who were too young to attend kindergarten or primary school. They originated in homes, but were developed by private, philanthropic and religious institutions to serve the estimated 200,000 children under 5, in 1892, who were roaming the streets without supervision while their parents worked (Cremin, 1988). The day nurseries varied in quality, ranging from minimal care to efforts to provide an educational program for the children and in many cases, for other family members as well. Provisions for pensions for poor mothers with dependent children after 1918 affected day nurseries as they did philanthropic kindergartens. The possibility for mothers to receive assistance that allowed them to stay home, plus the expansion of public school kindergartens that also served poor children, reduced the need for day nurseries.

Nursery schools were different. The nursery schools in England, established by Rachel and Margaret McMillan for poor children, were implemented in the United States as part of the child study movement. Their numbers grew with the support of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial for research in child development.

There were approximately 300 nursery schools in the 1930s. When the Federal Emergency Relief Administration determined the establishment of day care for children of poor and needy parents, the model of nursery schools with objectives for social, educational and physical development replaced custodial care of the earlier day nurseries (Cremin, 1988).

The Works Progress Administration, in 1935, included a Division in Education Projects that took responsibility for the nursery school program. WPA nursery schools took many forms. They continued in connection with colleges, universities and normal schools, were part of high school home economics departments and were implemented through local community agencies. In 1937, the WPA supported 1,472 nursery schools with an enrollment of 39,873 children. Lawrence Frank described the rapid implementation of these nursery schools:

> Within a remarkably short period of time, the emergency nursery schools and parent education programs were operating all over the country, involving the participation of many individuals and using the premises and facilities of various organizations to house the nursery schools and provide for parent meetings. Looking back, and seeing all the limitations and often exasperating delays, handicaps, and resistance to programs, we can say that, nevertheless, something of great significance was achieved. Through this emergency program, nursery schools which had been limited in numbers and were but slightly known by the public generally, became widely recognized and were generally accepted all over the country . . . (Braun & Edwards, 1972, p. 160)

The end of the Great Depression came with the mobilization for war. Many WPA nursery schools continued under the Lanham Community Facilities Act, which funded child care facilities in communities affected by population shifts due to the war effort. While one major purpose of these nursery schools had been to provide work for unemployed teachers, Lanham Act Nursery Schools facilitated child care for working women. The purpose of nursery schools during World War II was again custodial care; nevertheless, the influences of the child study movement were mingled in with child care between 1941 and 1945. Lanham Act nursery schools were no longer funded after 1945 (Cremin, 1988). Mothers were expected to resume their responsibilities in the home during peacetime.

In reality, from the end of World War II to the present decade, the number of mothers working outside the home has risen steadily. Whether the federal government acknowledged the need for child care or not, it had become a necessity in the United States. In the absence of federal support, child care again

evolved from private nonprofit and commercial sources.

ASSOCIATION FOR CHILDHOOD EDUCATION INTERNATIONAL: 1930-1950

The two decades of the 1930s and 1940s were years of expansion in growth and influence for the organization, originally comprised mostly of people involved with the kindergarten movement. Through organizational growth, publications and annual conferences, the International Kindergarten Union served an ever-widening group of children, public and private school personnel, administrators and university groups.

An immediate source of expansion was the union of IKU with the National Council of Primary Education on February 4, 1931. The relationship between kindergarten and primary teachers had been developing since kindergartens became part of public schools. The early years of conflict between primary and kindergarten teachers had been ameliorated through working and planning together to teach their students. Textbooks and other publications espousing a unified approach to teaching between kindergarten and primary grades helped pave the way for the two organizations to come together. Nevertheless, it took time for members of IKU and the National Council of Primary Education to determine that it was in their best interest to join forces.

The National Council of Primary Education, organized in 1916, had experienced its own success in growth of membership and publication of helpful resources for primary teachers. For IKU members, the concept of serving age groups beyond the kindergarten had already become a reality with the evolution of the nursery school movement. When attention became focused on the needs of nursery school children and teachers, IKU members realized that their organization could have a broader purpose in serving educators. By 1926, active negotiations were under way between the two organizations. Many educators were members of both organizations, and there was communication both through individual correspondence and official reports on progress toward union (ACEI Archives).

At the 1930 annual meeting of IKU in Memphis, the Conferring Committee reported its support for unification with points that indicated an understanding that the field of early childhood education was bigger than separate movements. Smith (1942) reported three significant points from the report:

- The psychology of the child for the years from two to eight revealed common needs.
- Normal schools and colleges of education had unified kindergarten and primary teaching in kindergarten-primary courses and departments.
- A unified organization could bring greatly enlarged and more forceful influence to bear in promoting progressive nursery school, kindergarten, and primary work throughout the country (p. 90)

In spite of the reluctance of some IKU members–particularly in giving up the name of the organization–the membership voted for the merger and renamed the organization the Association for Childhood Education (ACE). In 1931, at its annual meeting, the National Council of Primary Education accepted the action of IKU and voted to become members of the Association for Childhood Education (Smith, 1942).

While the membership of ACE represented a broader segment of the field of educators of young children, the National Association for Nursery Education (NANE) was organized for nursery educators in 1929 (Braun & Edwards, 1972). Many early childhood educators held membership in both organizations and close cooperation between the two lasted for many decades. In 1964, NANE became the National Association for the Education of Young Children (Weber, 1969). NAEYC has since become a major force in the field of early childhood education, especially through its significant work in day care issues. This focus on day care has been a factor in NAEYC's growth in recent years.

Depression Years

During the depression years of the 1930s, the Association for Childhood Education addressed the needs of teachers hired to teach in nursery schools sponsored by federal funding through the WPA. A major purpose of the WPA nursery school was to provide employment for teachers who were out of work as a result of the economic crisis. ACE tried to meet the needs of these teachers in conference topics and publications. *Childhood Education* was a major resource used to interpret and report the positions and issues of the day. The writings of leaders in the field such as Arnold Gesell, G. Stanley Hall, Patty Smith Hill, Alice Temple and William S. Gray were often published in this journal.

The loss of income for kindergarten teachers, resulting from reduced public school budgets, also affected ACE. Memberships, subscriptions to *Childhood Education* and sales of publications fell. In two reports to the Executive Board in 1933, Ross Barrett, Jr. and Peter Becker, Jr., ACE financial advisers, urged members of the board to be aware not only of the situation faced by schools with reduced appropriations, but also the need to produce publications that better reflect the needs of the membership and the field of early childhood education. In a report dated June 24, 1933, they stated:

> During the past year there has been a serious and widespread attack upon the fundamentals of early childhood education. This attack has taken the form of reduced educational appropriations, but what it actually means is:
> 1. The withdrawal of *any* educational opportunities for thousands of young children;
> 2. The *severe limitations* of educational opportunities for many other thousands of young children;
> 3. The elimination of all income of many teachers, through loss of their positions;
> 4. A substantial, and in some cases drastic, reduction in the income of those who still retain their positions;
> 5. The paring of allowances for equipment and supplies until, in some cases, they are no longer adequate for proper instruction. (Barrett & Becker, 1933, p. 1)

The advisers recommended that ACE take a greater interest in legislative and fiscal activities affecting the field of early childhood education and that publications be improved to reflect the concerns of teachers affected by the depression. In a second report in December, the advisers again urged the Association to be aware of reduced income and to modify publications to be more appealing and relevant for the current situation (Becker, 1933).

In 1937, ACE celebrated the centennial of the establishment of kindergartens in the United States. A bulletin, *The Kindergarten Centennial* 1837-1937 (The ACE Kindergarten Centennial Committee, 1937), was published as part of the celebration. The bulletin included the history of the kindergarten, particularly in the United States, and information on relevant publications and leaders in the kindergarten movement.

World War II and Postwar Years of the 1940s

The year 1942 marked the 50th anniversary of ACE. The anniversary conference was to be the last annual one until 1946 because of World War II restrictions. In 50 years, the organization had grown from 68 contributing members, two life members and nine branches to 2,957 contributing members, 114 life members and 508 branches with a combined membership of 34,000. The strength of the organization was in the branches. Through these groups and their work in local communities, ACE was influential and effective (Smith, 1942). In spite of ACE's overall growth since 1892, individual members dropped from 3,063 to 2,740 between 1942 and 1943 (Bain, 1967).

ACE was an active participant in the war effort. When severe travel restrictions resulted in a temporary halt to annual study conferences, well-attended community and regional conferences were held instead. Regional conferences reflected wartime topics, especially the needs of children during war years. Elections and other Association business were conducted by mail rather than through annual conferences.

In 1944, the Office of Defense Transportation issued a new ruling allowing conferences of no more than 254 participants; therefore, ACE was able to hold a restricted annual conference in Washington, D.C., that April. Participants not only were addressed by both Eleanor Roosevelt and Margaret Meade, but also were invited to the White House (Bain, 1967).

The war years and the second half of the decade following the war reflected the influence and service of the organization. Publications had grown in number and influence. During the war years, new publications were developed to meet wartime needs. Bain (1967) reported that, in 1944, 44,685 bulletins had been sold to child care centers, nursery groups, church school groups, defense councils, welfare groups and libraries in the United States, Australia, South Africa, India and England.

ACE's national prominence was also reflected in its work with other organizations and agencies. These groups included the Women's Joint Congressional Committee, American Council on Education Commission on Teacher Education, American Association of University Women, National Commission on Safety Education, Education Policies Commission and Council on Cooperation in Teacher Education. Joint projects resulted in publications to serve the needs of children. Perhaps the most important publication from such cooperative efforts resulted from the work of eight national organizations. Titled *The Nation and Its Children* (1945), the report was a statement of national policies affecting young children. More than 100,000 copies were distributed, including one presented to President Truman as a guide to the establishment of a national program to meet the needs of children (Bain, 1967).

The 1946 annual conference held in Cincinnati was significant for two reasons. It was the first annual conference held at a national level since 1942. More important, the organization again reflected its international focus in changing its name to the Association for Childhood Education International (ACEI).

The international interests of the organization had persisted since its beginnings; moreover, service at the international level had been extended to war-torn countries after WW I. After WW II and under the leadership of Executive Secretary Mary E. Leeper, ACEI participants were challenged to perceive the organization's responsibilities at a worldwide level. Funds contributed by Patty Smith Hill were used to provide study grants in the United States for teachers from Europe. The first two recipients came from Norway in 1945, followed by two teachers from Germany in 1949.

More significantly, ACEI again participated in a project to serve children displaced by war. In cooperation with the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration(UNRRA), ACEI sponsored a project of sending toys to children displaced by war. UNRRA transported kits of toys collected by ACEI through appeals to branches. In 1946, a total of 489 toy kits were shipped to Austria, Yugoslavia, Greece and Italy. In addition, complimentary copies of *Childhood Education* and curriculum materials requested by Mildred English, Deputy Chief of the Educational Branch of the U.S. Office of Military Government, were sent to German curriculum and textbook centers (Bain, 1967).

Resolving Social Issues

As noted earlier, the efforts for equal educational and economic opportunity had limited success prior to the war's end in 1945. Despite efforts to desegregate schools and secure equitable pay for Black teachers, conditions remained unequal, especially in southern states.

Many members of ACE and later ACEI were Black or members of other minority ethnic groups, who encountered difficulties in full participation at organizational meetings in a country that practiced segregation. Black members'

concerns about discriminatory practices at annual conferences first appeared in 1931 Executive Board minutes. In planning for the conference to be held in Washington, D.C., the Chairman of the Local Committee, Katherine Watkins, brought the issue to the attention of the board. The Executive Board minutes described the situation:

> Miss Watkins presented the feeling of the Washington Negro members of our Association who were afraid that there might be some discrimination against them at meetings and social affa:rs since there is a race feeling in Washington. It came out in the discussion that the Executive Board acts for the National Organization and has no power to rule out nor formulate policies as the action of the social affairs of the locality in which the convention is held according to the constitution. The Washington colored members who have paid their dues as members are entitled to the same privileges as other members. Miss Abbot was empowered to write a letter to Miss Watkins setting forth our stand on the subject making clear that it is not the function of the Executive Board to decide as to the treatment of any sect, race or any other individual group. Its function as the Executive Board of a national organization is to carry out the provisions of the constitution. (Association for Childhood Education, minutes of Executive Board Meeting, December 1931, p. 6)

The Executive Board did not feel it could take action to put pressure on local agencies regarding discrimination; nevertheless, the following motion was passed: "The Executive Board request Miss Watkins to interview the manager of the Willard Hotel and ask him to see that all delegates receive courteous treatment" (Association for Childhood Education, minutes of Executive Board Meeting, December 1931, p. 6).

Another situation emerged in 1933 during planning by the Executive Board for the annual meeting in Nashville. Apparently the question concerned the advisability of holding a dinner at a Black institution. The minutes reflected the discussion as follows:

> The dinner at the Negro Normal was now discussed. It was stated that it would not be embarrassing but would be an educational contribution from the convention. It was suggested that it would be a good thing to have the president of the Normal make a short talk on what had been done for the Negro in his school, etc. It was asked that the students give a program of music and stories. It was agreed that $1.00 or, if it was necessary so that the Normal could make something on the dinner, $1.25 should be charged for the dinner. It was asked that they would not go to the trouble and expense of having souvenirs. At this time there was short discussion on the Negro and when they would be invited into the A.C.E. on the same footing. Miss Leeper stated that the Negro was already a part of the A.C.E. both as Branches and as individuals but that the treatment of the Negro at conventions depended on the town in which the convention was held and how all Negroes were treated in that town. This relationship in convention city would have to be made quite clear to them. (Association for Childhood Education, minutes of Executive Board meeting, December 1933, pp. 10-11)

BITS FROM THE ACEI ARCHIVES: 1930-1950

Minutes of Executive Board Meeting
Monday, April 21, 1930

"Discussion of incidental expenses for Miss Hansen. Dr. Davis says she needs more space, as she works mostly in her bedroom. She has not used her monthly allowance for stenographic help etc. She has rented a typewriter at her own expense." (Miss Rowena Hansen had the position of Assistant to the Editor at a salary of $1500.)

Highlights of the Administration 1935-1938

"Marjorie Hardy's information received from Amy Hostler that anyone becoming a board member must immediately provide herself with a black lace dinner dress. The same Marjorie is letting down the hem to equip herself appropriately." (Reported by Helen Reynolds)

Minutes of Executive Board Meeting
April 4, 1942

A discussion of ways to help teachers in war responsibilities included the following:
"Miss Marble, Teachers College, Columbia University has a mimeographed booklet, "Fun in Air Raids."

In the postwar years, ACEI's position to establish equal conditions for all members was strengthened. Actions by the organization reflected a progressive attitude toward improvement of race relations. The issue of equal conditions for all members moved toward resolution in 1949 when the Executive Board was presented with two requests. The first, from three states with segregated schools, requested the organization recognize separate state associations for Black and White teachers. The second request, from a Black branch in Washington, D.C., asked the organization to require that conferences be held in cities where Black participants could receive equal treatment. The Executive Board's deliberations took place at the conference in Salt Lake City where accommodations for Blacks had been found to be very limited.

In regard to the request for separate state associations, the Executive Board met with representatives of the groups making the request, then acted to decide that only one association would be recognized from each state. A similar resolution was made regarding accommodations for Black members at annual conferences. Black representatives were invited to meet with the Executive Board to discuss problems and make suggestions for the 1950 conference in Asheville, North Carolina. Through the efforts of the Executive Board and local planning committee, many of the problems of accommodations and equal treatment of all members were corrected in Asheville.

Following the Asheville conference and a study made by the Committee on Conference Location, the request by the Washington Black group was resolved by a directive to groups who wanted to invite ACEI to meet in their city. The directive stated that the invitation should include a "statement giving assurance that Negro members and members from other countries can live in the same hotels as those used by other delegates and eat in all dining rooms without embarrassment" (Bain, 1967, p. 30).

The action by the Association reflected a new vision of the purposes and

potential of the organization. This was but one example of the accomplishments that would be achieved by ACEI after 1950. In the next two decades, ACEI would experience its largest period of growth and continue its contributions to the field of early childhood education during a new era of interest in the potential of the early years for later development and learning.

CHAPTER 4
A GOLDEN AGE OF CHILDHOOD: 1950-1975

The nation that entered the decade of the 1950s was significantly different from the one that had existed in the early decades of the century. The demands of the Great Depression and World War II on the United States government resulted in an expanded role both in domestic and international affairs. Each year from 1950 to 1975, the federal budget was increased to fund the many programs and policies that responded to needs and problems of the day. These years were ones of progress in many areas of national and international affairs; but they were also years of turmoil, uncertainty, fear and violence as the United States and other nations struggled toward living within a global context that was to replace national boundaries.

INTERNATIONAL INVOLVEMENT

Although the end of World War II signaled an end to war on a global scale, hostilities did not cease. The United States and her allies were almost continuously involved in regional confrontations. The nation found itself increasingly influential in international affairs, partly through economic aid given to countries rebuilding from the devastation of war, but also because of the ideological polarity between East and West. The struggle between democracy and communism, or the cold war, permeated policies and practices in the federal government that influenced the direction of the United States for 40 years. The cold war grew out of a fear of communism and the concern that its influence would spread and control the world. Within that fear was a direct competitiveness between the Soviet Union and the United States as each country monitored the other to ascertain military, technological and economic dominance. The 1957 launching of Sputnik by the Soviet Union is now looked upon as a key event that affected the United States domestically and internationally in accelerating the effort to maintain leadership in the struggle for western dominance in the cold war. One response to the cold war was the maintenance of a strong military presence in both the United States and allied countries. American military forces continued to occupy Germany and Japan and were extended to other countries in the effort to protect the West from communism. The military budget grew as each side escalated the race to develop sophisticated armaments for use in event of war. By the 1960s, American military influence had spread to the point that more than 1.5 million military personnel were stationed in a hundred countries. The military budget exceeded $80 billion annually by 1972, with one worker in seven employed in defense projects (Henretta et al., 1987). This powerful military establishment had been organized into the Department of Defense in 1947, and led to a revolution in American government as the executive branch assumed authority over foreign affairs that paralleled the strength of military forces. In a centralized culture, the influence of the military and the federal government had an impact on the lives of ordinary people, both in the United States and in other countries where United States influence affected their domestic affairs. In his farewell speech (1961), President Eisenhower warned the nation that the military-industrial complex could endanger democratic processes if misused.

Some would propose that the United States misused its military power and influence during this period in the effort to contain communism. The Central Intelligence Agency, established in 1949, was involved secretly in the internal affairs of countries and successfully directed the overthrow of foreign governments in Iran and Guatemala. It was unsuccessful against Fidel Castro of Cuba in 1961 and Achmed Sukarno of Indonesia in 1958.

Although the policy of containment of communism met with mixed success, progress was made in the cold war. President John Kennedy successfully resolved the Cuban missile crisis in 1962 when Soviet missiles were removed from Cuba. In 1963, the United States and the Soviet Union agreed to a test-ban treaty. Instead of containment, President Kennedy proposed detente as a concept of foreign policy that accepted the Soviet Union as an adversary with whom the United States could negotiate. Coexistence of the two powers was the goal.

The fear of communism affected internal affairs in the United States. An anticommunist hysteria that became known as "McCarthyism" prevailed as Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin led a crusade against communist sympathizers. Investigation of suspected communists led to loss of employment for many, particularly in the entertainment industry. In a comprehensive investigation of federal employers in 1947, 6 million employees were subjected to security checks and 14 thousand were investigated by the FBI (Henretta et al., 1987). Antisubversion campaigns were conducted in state and local governments, universities and businesses. Senator McCarthy became the most vocal anticommunist. His excess in investigating suspected communists finally led to his censure by the Senate.

DOMESTIC ACHIEVEMENT

Indirectly, the fear of communism also had positive effects for segments of the population between 1950 and 1975. The launching of Sputnik accelerated interest in space exploration, followed by substantial funding that allowed the United States to compete in the race for space. The competitive nature of the space race generalized into concerns for better research and education in the United States. Money for universities and schools was increased as the government supported technological and scientific innovations, along with improved schooling that would ultimately enhance accomplishments by graduates of institutions of higher education in the United States.

Raised sensitivity to civil rights, plus activism among minorities and women, resulted in social, economic and educational changes that had positive effects for children and families from all segments of the population. Nevertheless, much of the legislation and programs of the period targeted the needs of minorities and the poor. President Eisenhower followed Truman's efforts to integrate the schools. With President Kennedy's call for a "New Frontier," space exploration was funded and a spirit of patriotism was sparked through the Peace Corps, which saw young American college graduates serving to improve the life of citizens in underdeveloped countries. In addition, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare was established.

CHILDHOOD IN THE UNITED STATES:
Not only do today's children live in quite a different world from that in which their parents and teachers grew up, they also face an unprecedented future, since the rate of social change and its impact on learning and living cannot be left out of account. Furthermore, there are cumulative implications in the recent findings of inquiries into human behavior, human development, human aspirations and human relations. They constitute further challenges to continuing forward adjustment in provisions for child nurture and education. These considerations, coupled with the tensions and pressures which characterize this age of unremitting scientific advance and world-wide industrialization, make adaptability to change quite as essential to survival and fulfillment as backgrounds of knowledge and competence.–Laura Zirbes. (1959). What should we know about learning? *Childhood Education*, 36, 153.

If Kennedy's "New Frontier" established the momentum for social change, Lyndon B. Johnson's "Great Society" held the record for the most major legislative accomplishments impacting on the life and education of Americans, particularly minorities and the poor. After Kennedy's assassination in 1963, Johnson used his influence in Congress to pass comprehensive legislation intended to improve various aspects of American life. Among his legislative accomplishments were the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Voting Rights Act of 1965, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and establishment of health care for the elderly and poor through Medicare and Medicaid. Federal urban renewal and home mortgage assistance facilitated improved housing and home ownership; expansion of the National Park System widened the availability and protection of national areas of beauty and natural significance. The Highway Beautification Act encouraged the protection of highways from commercial exploitation; and establishment of the National Endowment for the Arts and National Endowment for the Humanities encouraged the fine arts, literature and drama through financial support at the federal level.

Social growth did not occur without pain and turmoil. The civil rights movement, which brought the right to vote and equal opportunity for employment and education, was accomplished at a cost of harassment, imprisonment and murder as White backlash sought to maintain the status quo. John Kennedy's assassination was followed by the killing of two civil rights leaders, Martin Luther King, Jr. and Medgar Evars, as well as many civil rights workers. Robert Kennedy was also shot and killed as he campaigned for the presidency in 1968.

Civil rights activists, themselves, became violent. Abandoning the peaceful activism espoused by early civil rights leaders, Black activism became more militant, particularly in urban areas. Fueled by the Black Muslim movement and other militant groups, Black riots in northern cities between 1964 and 1968 undermined White support for the civil rights movement.

By the end of Lyndon Johnson's administration, the motivation for social legislation and civil rights had ebbed. The accumulated cost in U. S. lives and dollars and allied involvement in the Vietnam War resulted in the loss of support of the American people. What had begun as funding and military advisers for South Vietnam under Kennedy became full-scale troop and armament commitment under Johnson. A counterculture of youth protesting the war was joined in opposition by mainstream citizens and politicians. Domestic dissent over the war caused Johnson to decide against seeking another term as president. The defeat of American troops in Vietnam, plus the protracted efforts to extricate the United States from the war, caused a national psychological wound that persisted through the next decades. The enormous expense of the war and a large federal deficit eventually caused Americans to pull out of the war, in defeat, in January 1973 during Richard Nixon's presidency. Although Johnson probably is best remembered for his leadership in a misguided war, he should also be remembered for his efforts for the poor that came to be called the "War on Poverty."

CHILDHOOD IN THE UNITED STATES: 1950-1975

The title of this chapter refers to childhood as being in a golden era. When compared to previous historical periods and the years to come toward the end of the century, it was, perhaps for a brief period, a time of many advantages for children. It was an optimistic period economically. At the beginning of the 1950s, the majority of women with children under the age of 6 worked in the home if economic circumstances permitted. The United States was in a consumer-oriented period as families acquired homes, cars, appliances and goods that were again

abundantly available. Time payment arrangements made products accessible to segments of the population who could not have accumulated the cash to acquire items such as refrigerators or television sets. As a result of the GI Bill, veterans had an opportunity for a college education that, in turn, translated into a higher percentage of the population entering a middle-class lifestyle.

Family lifestyles were changing for many Americans. The acquisition of cars, televisions and radios brought events and trends closer to home. Television viewing afforded a common experience to all socioeconomic groups. Improvement of the highway system encouraged family travel, also paving the way for construction of motels, hotels and entertainment centers such as Disneyland. Suburban areas continued to expand because home ownership was more affordable.

In the 1970s, family camping became popular as a recreation option. Community recreation programs developed with opportunities available for both adults and children. The national interest in sports extended to organized sports for children, particularly young boys, as Little League baseball teams were organized in both urban and rural areas. Local businesses sponsored ball teams accessible to boys and girls of all income levels.

By the advent of the 1970s, social changes were evolving that would change forcefully family structures, lifestyles and economics. Childhood would become a different experience as the divorce rate rose steadily and mothers entered the workplace in increasing numbers each year. The economic hardships of living in a single-parent family structure and the adjustment to having mothers employed in both intact and divorced families revolutionized family lifestyles and children's childhood experiences. Day care became a necessity that would result in its expansion into a major industry in the 1980s.

There were growing concerns about the negative effects of television on children. The quality of programming was questioned, and initial research on the effects of lengthy viewing and inappropriate programming for children began to cause concern for child specialists.

Another side of childhood began to emerge with information on rising rates of child abuse and the phenomenon of babies born to drug-addicted mothers. By 1975, the American lifestyle and childhood had moved into a different direction in history as the solution of some negative conditions affecting children were replaced with new concerns.

Conditions of Childhood

After the end of World War II, the birthrate escalated rapidly in what came to be known as the Baby Boom. By 1970, the birthrate had dropped significantly as working mothers reduced the size of their families and young professional women postponed childbearing in favor of career advancement. Baby boomers affected the nation at every step of their growth as schools, manufacturers and other facets of the American society and economy sought to provide services and goods for this large segment of the population. Conditions for these children and those who came after them in the 1960s and 1970s were substantially improved through advances in health services that developed during the same decades.

Improvements in Child Health. Significant progress was made in control of communicable diseases. Availability of penicillin, sulfa drugs and antibiotics made it possible to treat tuberculosis, mastoiditis, meningitis, osteomyelitis, pneumonia and other bacterial infections. Development of the Salk and Sabin vaccines almost eliminated poliomyelitis as a cause of death and physical handicap (Public Health Service, 1976).

There was concern during the period that not enough doctors, pediatricians and other health services were available for baby boomers. Advances made in treating infants and children were not widely available because of shortages in medical workers. An example was surgery for congenital heart defects in infants. To widen the availability of this new medical procedure, regional centers and state crippled children programs were established to provide open heart surgery for congenital heart defects.

Numerous national voluntary organizations focused their efforts on the health needs of children. The National Society for Crippled Children and Adults served individuals who lacked normal functioning of the neuromuscular and skeletal system; the United Epilepsy Association and National Epilepsy League served about 275,000 children and youth under 21 years of age. The Allergy Foundation of America estimated that 14 percent of all children had allergic diseases. The American Hearing Society reported that 1.3 million school-age children were hearing impaired. The National Society for the Prevention of Blindness, American Optometric Association's Committee on Visual Problems of Children and Youth, United Cerebral Palsy Association and Muscular Dystrophy Association were additional foundations that included children in the health services they provided (Public Health Service, 1976).

The needs of mentally retarded children were also addressed when parents organized the National Association for Retarded Children, later to become the National Association for Retarded Citizens. In 1957, Congress appropriated $1 million to the Children's Bureau for grants to states to develop diagnosis and treatment methods for retarded children. President Kennedy, who had a mentally retarded sister, heightened national visibility on the needs of the mentally retarded. The Maternal and Child Health and Mental Retardation Planning Amendments of 1963 included comprehensive maternity and child health care service, as well as multidisciplinary training of specialists to work with the handicapped and retarded.

The concern about poor or nonexistent prenatal care, particularly among the

urban poor, led to establishment of maternal and infant projects to serve expectant mothers early in pregnancy and continuing through the first months of the baby's life. About 57,260 women were served during the first year. Maternal and infant programs were joined by similar ones when grants were made available in 1965 that would provide comprehensive health services for preschool and school-age children. Dental health projects provided preventive dental care, and intensive care projects initiated life-supporting systems for at-risk newborn babies.

In 1961, President Kennedy established a Center for Research in Child Health in the Public Health Service, which was renamed the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development in 1962. Among its accomplishments was development of a method to screen newborns for inborn metabolic errors that could lead to mental retardation. The screening for phenylketonuria (PKU) quickly become required through state legislation.

By the 1970s, improved health services had accomplished much to protect the health of the nation's children. The infant mortality rate had been lowered and the gap in health care for minority and poor children had been narrowed, but not eliminated. Tuberculosis had been reduced in Native American and Alaskan populations. On the negative side, socioeconomic problems of the 1970s gave rise to new health concerns. The use and abuse of drugs, increased venereal disease, adolescent child abuse, lead poisoning and the growing number of severe accidents resulting in injury and death posed new challenges in health care. In addition, hunger and malnutrition were still prevalent among children of the poor (Public Health Service, 1976).

Institutionalized Children. In 1950, abuse and neglect in child-caring institutions were being reported, a situation that still existed in isolated settings in the 1970s. Although efforts had been made for many decades to reduce the number of children in institutionalized care, about 28,000 remained in 1970. Beginning in 1972, an effort was made to further deinstitutionalize as many children as possible. Efforts were made to return children to community settings in the belief that their potential for reintegration into the community is better served in small group homes or foster care. Between 1965 and 1975, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare offered grants leading to deinstitutionalizing dependent children, as well as mentally retarded, emotionally disturbed and disabled children. Institutions for children in need of specialized treatment replaced general institutions. The most difficult-to-care-for children continued to be served in the specialized institutions (Datta, 1976).

Foster Care and Adoption. Although numbers of children in foster care decreased in the 1940s, the 1950s again saw larger numbers of children whose parents were unable to care for them. These children, however, needed care as the result of social pathology in the home rather than economic need in the family. Children needing foster care in the 1970s meant specialized training for foster parents and support of social workers. Placement of older, more difficult children indicated a trend for longer term foster care that constantly strained the system. Costs of foster care increased, and the lack of appropriate foster care placements made it difficult to provide long-term quality care for children who spent the majority of their childhood years in out-of-home placements.

While numbers of children in foster care increased between 1950 and 1970, the number of children available for adoption decreased. Many parents turned to obtaining babies illegally or through directly negotiating with the expectant mother. These alternatives resulted in high financial costs and increased legal risks for the adoptive parents. There was also a greater uncertainty about the physical and mental characteristics of the adopted child.

Children with special needs were still available for adoption but difficult to place. To find homes for these children, agencies became more flexible and creative in their adoption policies. Trans-racial and single-parent adoptions were permitted. Age restrictions were relaxed and subsidized adoptions were initiated. In 1975, over 40 states had approved subsidized adoptions where adoptive families could be given a grant to help meet the expenses of raising the adoptive child. In 1971, 169,000 children were adopted, 50 percent by relatives. The median age for adoption was 2 months and only 12 percent of children adopted by a non-relative were other than White (Datta, 1976).

Child Welfare. The 1935 Social Security Act (Title IV), which included Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), was amended in 1967 to provide benefits through training and job placement services for heads of households eligible for AFDC. The broadened services of these child welfare services included the prevention of neglect, abuse, exploitation and delinquency of children, as well as strengthening the home environment and/or providing for children's care in foster care or day care facilities. Between 1960 and 1972, the number of AFDC increased from 3.5 million to over 11 million.

Much controversy surrounded AFDC. One concern in 1975 was over the escalating costs of the program. Another was whether working poor below the poverty level should receive benefits and whether employment of adult recipients should be required. Criticisms of the program included concerns that benefits varied from state to state and that some recipients received benefits for an extended number of years. In states with high benefits, employment was not advantageous; benefits were almost as high as the income of the working poor.

The effectiveness of welfare policies was questioned by many at that time. What had originally been intended as a source to stabilize families and provide for the welfare of poor children had instead become a source of dependency for AFDC recipients. The consensus seemed to be that the child welfare system needed to be changed; but there was little agreement on how to correct the problems, achieve some control over escalating costs and still ensure a minimum level of support for needy children (Datta, 1976).

Child Abuse. The existence of widespread child abuse first received attention in 1946 when a published report suggested that accidental injuries to infants and children could have been inflicted by parents. The concept of the "battered child"